

CHAPTER III. PEOPLE.

The present population structure of Dhanbad has followed in a way the administrative evolution of the district. It may be repeated here that the present shape of the subdivision was given in 1871 when Shergarh with a part of Pandra (portion on the east of Barakar river) was transferred to Burdwasn. The subdivisional headquarter continued to be at Govindpur on the Grand Trunk Road till July, 1908. the subdivision consisted of Pandra, Tundi, Nagarkhari, Jainagar, Katras, Nawagarh and Jharia parganas. The subdivision was given the status of a sub- district in 1927 and that of a district in 1956 with some additions.

This portion has an ancient past full of traditions and forms a confluence of Brahmanical Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. The ruins of the temples at Chechaongarh, Katras, Jharia, Palganj, etc., are suggestive. The very early history of the district is lost in oblivion and the theories of Beglar, Dalton and others referred to in the old District Gazetteer of Manbhum deal mainly with the then Sadar subdivision of the district of Manbhum which is now Purulia district in West Bengal. Even the quotations from the Bavisht Puran, Ain-i-Akbari or Padshahnama give very little help in tracing the early history. But we can make some intelligent case from the relics and particularly because of the trans-district route which ultimately became the Grand Trunk Road. There is no doubt that this has been the main route for the movement of forces and as such people inhabiting the subdivision had to lead an orderly and rather unambitious life.

As mentioned in the old Gazetteer the disputes between the zamindars and tenants in Tundi in 1869-70 were quickly settled, so also the trouble caused by the zamindars of Nawagarh and Jharia in November, 1882. By nature the people are satisfied with bare necessities of life and they used to do a little scratching of the earth, grow some crops or get a few baskets full of coal which were quite sufficient for their livelihood. The development of the collieries quickly threw open the gates of immigration and the result was that very quickly most of the collieries were lost to the hands of outsiders and so also trade and commerce. It is rather significant that most of the collieries have been worked by lease-holders from the zamindars and very few zamindars worried to work the collieries themselves. Emigration naturally declined and the incidence of immigration went up very high and this tempo of immigration is still continuing.

The conversion of the subdivision into sub-district raised the administrative importance of the unit which was further accelerated when importance of the unit which was further accelerated when Dhanbad was created into a full fledged district. As a result

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of the implementation of the States Reorganisation Commission when most of the Sadar subdivision of Manbhum was transferred to West Bengal, Dhanbad had a further accretion by the addition of Chas and Chandankeary thanas.

According to the Census Report of 1951 the population of Dhanbad sub-district was 7,31,700 distributed as follows:-

Name of Revenue thanas	Area of Revenue thanas in square miles	Name of police-stations	Population of police-stations according to Census,1951
1) Govindpur	118	1) Govindpur	64,648
2) Jharia	174	2) Jharia	80,527
3)Topchanchi	173	3)Jorapokhar	58,888
4) Nirsa	173	4) Sindri	14,693
5) Tundi	152	5) Dhanbad	49,870
		6) Kenduadih	50,842
		7) Jogta	37,072
		8) Baliapur	42,882
		9) Nirsa	79,840
		10)Chirkunda	42,048
		11)Tundi	50,319
		12)Topchanchi	45,744
		13)Baghmara	50,024
		14)Katras	64,297

The statement above shows that in the ascending order of the density of population the thanas will be arranged as Tundi, Govindpur, Nirsa, Topchanchi, And Jharia . Of These five thanas, Tundi, and Govindpur are purely rural are as having very little attraction in them for immigration, but the latter is more densely populated than the former. One of the causes of the greater density of population in Govindpur is that it has more lands for cultivation than Tundi a considerable portion of Which is occupied by hills and jungles. Another probable cause is that while Govindpur immediately adjoins the industrial area, Tundi is at a distance from it with the result that the workers in industrial area, coming from Govindpur have in a very rare cases, to reside in industrial area and those coming from Tundi have in all case to leave there places of residence and live there. Thus it is found that the growth of population in Govindpur thana is more natural than all other than as of the subdivision . It has been least affected either by migration or by natural advantage and disadvantage. It is very difficult to

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as certain the number of present immigrants of subdivision but an approximate number, at any rate, can be obtained by taking the density (i.e. 542 persons per sq. mile) of the subdivision and excess of population over this density, the approximate number of immigrants. According to this formula the number of immigrants including the displaced persons till 1951 works out to be 33,641, i.e., 29,433 or $(714-542) \times 171.15$ in Nirsa thana, 76,839 or $(914-542) \times 187.87$ in Topchanchi thana and 2,30,364 or $(2000-542) \times 158$ in Jharia thana if the above figures are taken to be correct about 46 per cent of the subdivision population is immigrants. The main occupation of the people are to cultivate the land and to work in the colliery. They are generally very contented class of people and so long as they have any thing at home to meet their bare necessities of life they will not go out for any work, other than cultivation. This is because the people depend more on nature for irrigation and they never lose any chance of cultivating the land.

DISPLACED PERSONS.

The partition of the country in 1947, led to a substantial percentage of the Hindus of East Pakistan and West Pakistan to come to the states of India including the state of Bihar. The influx of Displaced Persons was very rapid which was caused due to communal tension which kept aflame in Eastern and western Pakistan. The magnitude of the problem which the Government of India had to bear was almost unprecedented in human history. The Government of India tried to solve this unprecedented problem and made a request to all states of the Indian union to share the responsibility to rehabilitate the Displaced persons. Like all other districts, displaced persons both from East and West Pakistan started coming to the Dhanbad district.

According to the census of 1951 (*census of India*, volume, Bihar, part II, pages 337-338) the total number of displaced persons in Dhanbad was 7,257. Out of it 4,307 were males and 2,950 females.

The break-up figures were as follows :-

Displaced persons from with Pakistan .

Year	male	Females	Total.
1946	37	24	61
1947	530	570	1,100
1948	174	165	339
1949	50	6	56
1950	45	27	72
1951

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Displaced persons from East Pakistan .

Years	Males	Females	Total
1946	458	125	283
1947	1, 639	1,247	2,886
1948	840	393	1,233
1949	218	173	391
1950	311	219	530
1951	5	1	6

For the re-settlement of these displaced persons, sixty stalls have been constructed at jorapokhar and Dhanbad. But these displaced persons are not willing to occupy these stalls. No Residential building has been constructed for them by Government in the district but financial assistance was made available to them for the construction of building .

All these persons have been advanced loans for construction of residential building as well as to start business . A total sum of Rs. 1,86,017.62 nP was advanced as loan from 1948 to 1958 to these displaced persons as supplied by Relief section, Dhanbad .

The table supplied by Relief Section, Dhanbad given below shows the amount of loans advanced to families of Dhanbad and jorapokhar in the two financial years, i.e., 1959-60 to 1960-61:-

Years.		House building loan. Rs.	Business loan Rs.
1959-60	.. ..	30,934.00	63,012.37
1960-61	.. ..	45,290.00	46,781.25

MIGRATION

The incidence of migration is particular feature of the districts in chhotanagpur. Along with the men of other districts of chhotanagpur the aboriginals of Dhanbad district also emigrate frequently. The emigration is of several types. In the cold weather the aboriginals emigrate for periodical employment. The emigration to the coal fields is of a more permanent nature. In the past whenever there has been scarcity the incidence of emigration has gone up .

According to the census Hand book of 1951 (Pages 78-79), in Dhanbad out of the total population of 7,31,700 there was a population of 2,18,381 born outside Dhanbad and found within the district

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when the census operation took place . this population of 2,18,381 is distributed as follows according to their birth place :-

	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Patna Division	46,414	30,000	16,414
Tirhut Division	7,289	4,294	2,995
Bhagalpur Division	41,313	23,120	18,193
Chhotanagpur Division(excluding purulia and Dhanbad)	51,052	30,487	21,465
States adjacent to Bihar	46,816	31,578	15,238
Other states in India	6,327	3,454	2,873
Countries in Asia other than India ..	19,070	11,806	7,264
Countries in Europe	78	34	44
Africa	5	3	2
America	14	9	5
Australia	3	2	1
Total	2,18,381	1,34,787	83,594

An exclusive feature of the population of this district is the presence of very sizeable cosmopolitan population in the urban areas. This is due to the rapid industrialisation of the district which has attracted skilled hands from various parts of the world. The technological experience of several nations has been made available to the industrial units in the region. Initially sindri had attracted experts from foreign countries in connection with the experience of the industries. Apart from the presence of people from different parts of the world, Sindri and jharia and some of the other industrial areas could well be described as a museum of the different areas in India. There is hardly any part of India from where men have not come to Dhanbad to earn their bread. This is unique cosmopolitan feature is a great social factor and it may be said that the different classes of people from different parts of India have been living peacefully.

It may also be observed that this district occupies a very prominent position in India's coal belt. With the passage of time the importance of Dhanbad district in this area is bound to increase .

Practically many of the basic minerals are found in this areas and with the expansion of communication improvement of technical skill and availability , the area will developed much

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more and this integrated industrial region will have a world importance. The cosmopolitan character of the urban population of Dhanbad is Also expected to continue .

GROWTH OF TOWNS.

In 1901 Dhanbad had two towns, viz., Dhanbad and jharia in 1951 one more towns viz., Sindri was added to this district in 1961 there are nineteen towns in total. It has to be mentions here that the concept of a town till 1951 was population of 5,000 persons and above. in 1961 a different criterion has been fixed , i.e. only place with the population of more than 5,000 persons then density of more than 1,000 persons per square mile and if at leas 75 per cent adult male population in non-agriculture occupation fulfill the condition of being a town.

The table given below gives the list of all towns in the district with the population figures from 1901 to 1961:-

Town.	Persons.	Variation.	Males.	Variation	Females	variation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.Dhanbad-						
1901	..	..	..	..	..	..
1911	..	..	..	..	..	..
1921	12,951	..	8,068	..	4,883	..
1931	16,356	+3,405	9,882	+1,814	6,474	+1,591
1941	21,411	+5,055	12,958	+3,076	8,474	+1,979
1951	34,077	+12,666	20,661	+7,703	13,416	+4,963
1961	57,473	+23,396	35,081	+14,420	22,392	+8,976
2.Jharia-						
1901	..	..	..	..	..	..
1911	..	..	..	..	..	..
1921	..	..	..	..	..	..
1931	..	..	..	..	..	..
1941	18,037	..	10,717	..	7,320	..
1951	26,480	+8,443	15,689	+4,972	10,791	+3,471
1961	33,805	+7,325	19,685	+3,996	14,120	+3,329
3. Sindri --						
1951	13,045	..	8,760	..	4,285	..
1961	41,349	+28,304	24,852	+16,092	16,497	+12,212

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Town.	Persons.	Variation.	Males.	Variation	Females	variation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Chirkunda- 1961	.. 9,485	..	5,431	..	4,054	..
5. Kumardhubi - 1961	.. 16,551	..	9,870	..	6,681	..
6. Panchet - 1961	.. 4,703	..	2,758	..	1,945	..
7. Maithan - 1961	.. 8,039	..	4,796	..	3,243	..
8. Tirsra- 1961	.. 7,477	..	4,794	..	2,683	..
9. Angar Pathrra - 1961	.. 6,003	..	4,018	..	1,985	..
10. Katras 1961	.. 17,24	..	9,858	..	7,386	..
11. Kerkeend- 1961	.. 6,507	..	4,012	..	2,495	..
12. Gomoh 1961	.. 12,097	..	6,873	..	5,224	..
13. Loyabad 1961	.. 11,545	..	7,932	..	3,613	..
14. Sijua 1961	.. 10,051	..	6,191	..	3,860	..
15. Jamadaba- 1961	.. 6,582	..	4,049	..	2,533	..
16. Bhawrah 1961	.. 10,557	..	6,583	..	3,974	..
17. Jorapokhar- 1961	.. 15,613	..	9,822	..	5,791	..
18. Dumrakunda - 1961	.. 8,693	..	5,425	..	3,268	..
19. Chaitudih- 1961	.. 6,561	..	4,450	..	2,111	..

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The reasons for the increase in urban population are quite a few . There has been a somewhat drift of the population towards the tow . This is partially due to abolition of zaminadari which has made the member of the ex-landlord to take the business or other pursuits and they are not keen to live in village Shorn of their prestige.

The opening of communications which has led to a bigger turnover of trede of and commerce especially at the markets of Jharia , Chirkunda , etc., which are concentrated in the town . Asd centres of trade and commerce towns are developing and more townships are the way.

There has been a concentration of more Government offices in some of the which has also an increase in urban population. The rapid industrilisation of the district has also led to an increase in urban population . The opening of some of community Development Block office in urban area has rural areas has added to urban population .the development of communications has also made the population easy to mobilize and the towns are easier of access which is incentive to settle in town but keeping up a contact with the village houses .

The population of Dhanbad town (including both the municipal area and the Railway colony) increased form 12,951 in 1921 when it was treated as a town for the fist time to 34,077 in 1951 the net increase in 30 year being 21,126 or 163.79 percent. Jharia which is about five mile form Dhanbad was raised to urban status in 1941 its population increased form 8,037 in 1941 to 26,418 in10 year. Sindri was included in the list of town for the first time in 1951.

Dhanbad is oldest and the largest town with a population of 57,473 according to 1961 provisional census finger. It is on the Grand Chord line of the Eastern Railway with branches striking out and connecting it whit most of the important colliery centers on the south. It is also connected with Grand Trunk Road, which runs four mile to the north, by tow rode Besidees the usual offices of the chief Inspector of mines of Government of India, the Coal mines Welfare Commissioner , the Jharia Mines Boardof Health and the Water Board. The only mining institution in India, the Dhanbad school of mines, is located here Several road route emanate form it connecting Dhanbad with Asanaol, Patna ,Gaya ,Haarzaribagh, Purulia , Ranchi , and Jameshedpur, etc.it is a first growing town and population has increased about 4.5 time since 1921. The second largest town, Jhaia (33,305), was included in the list of town for the time in 1941 it is the hart of an important coal mining area . The population of this town has increased by about 54 percent over 1941 total.

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Sindri has been treated as town in 1951. The old revenue mauzas of Sandri, Saharpura, Donegarh, Uparahandra and Hetkandra have been transformed in the course of only two or three year into neat little township with a population of 41,349. This development is directly attributable to the establishment of the Sindri Fertiliser factory. A well-equipped electrical and mechanical college known as the Bhiar Institute of Technology has been opened by the state Government who have also set up a superphosphate factory here.

LANGUAGE

The languages in Dhanbad district mostly come from three distinct stocks. One is the munda family of languages which includes Ho, Mundari, Santhali, Kharia, Kora, Karwa and Bhumij. The other is the Dravidian family of languages which includes Telugu, Tamil and other Dravidian languages. The rest are of the Indo-Aryan stock which includes Hindi, Bengali, Punjabi, Gujarati, Oriya, Urdu, Nepali, Marwari, etc. On account of the cosmopolitan character of the urban population of industrial areas distributed over the district there is a sprinkling of people speaking some of the European languages. The following table will show the strength as mother-tongue as mentioned in 1951 census :-

Languages	Male	Females	Total
1. Indo-Aryan languages -			
Hindi	2,71,154	2,04,389	47,75,543
Bengali	1,03,689	82,374	1,86,063
Punjabi	2,408	1,694	4,102
Gujrati	1,170	1,230	2,400
Oriya	827	840	1,667
Nepali	547	478	1,025
Marwari	319	89	408
Other Indo-Aryan languages	191	93	284
2. Munda languages -			
Santhali	24,209	24,996	49,205
Mundari	3,660	3,737	7,397
Ho	579	606	1,185
Kharia	387	403	790
Karwa	52	1	53
Kora	27	..	27
Bhumij	5	3	8

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Languages						
3.Dravidian languages-						
Telugu	132	94	226
Tamil	139	59	198
Other Dravidian languages				265	219	484
Other languages of india --						
Pushtu	..	..	..	27	..	27
Asiatic languages foreign of india			..	54	5	59
European languages –						
English	..	..	..	299	250	549

Like the previous censuses Urdu has not been enumerated separately and had been clubbed together with Hindi .Though Urdu has a separate entity but for the facilities of the interested person in the language, the census had given the number of Urdu speaking people as 33,932.

Hindi is the principal language of the district. According to census of 1951, Hindu-speaking people were about 65 percent of the total population , which show the national language of our country and because of this ,it is becoming popular even among the non Hindi speakers and, therefore, it has become essential for every gazetted and non-gazetted staff of the Government to pass the departmental examinations in Hindi.

According to the above table the Bengali-speaking population is about 25.4 percent of the total population and Santhali by about 6.8 percent. The other Indo-Aryan language have not made any impact in the district which will be evident form the above table .The Punjab is are mostly displaced person and their number in the district is small. Similar is the case with the Gujrati-speaking people so for the number is concerned .

“Khortha” is the popular local dialect and has a large mixture of Hindi. The Bengali Inhabitants of the district who have been here fir generation use this dialect in their houses and this dialect is well understood by Hindi-speaking people of Shahabad and Balia districts who have migrated to this district have adopted the local dialect in place of their own “Bhojpuri”.

* District census Handbook of Dhanbad, page 68.

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The table given below shows the bilingualism in the district i.e., it given the number of person who commonly use other Indian languages in their everyday life in addition to (and some time largely in supersession of) their mother-tongue *:-

Mother tongue	Total speakers.	Total persons returned As speaking of language subsidiary to that shown in column.	Subsidiary Language
1. Hindi	4,75,543	71,600	Bengali .. 66,827
			Santhali .. 2,621
			Gujrati .. 1,412
			Punjabi .. 320
			Mundari .. 219
			Oriya .. 167
			Marwari .. 14
			Sindhi .. 9
			Madrasi .. 6
			Marathi .. 2
			Pushtu .. 1
			Nepali .. 1
			Telugu .. 1
2. Bengali	1,86,063	62,386	Hindi .. 59,566
			Santhali .. 2,284
			Oriya .. 322
			Gujrati .. 117
			Punjabi .. 84
			Mundari .. 13
3. Santhali	49,205	26,658	Hindi .. 17,841
			Bengali .. 8,690
			Mundari .. 57
			Gujrati .. 11
			Punjabi .. 9
			Oriya .. 8
			Marwari .. 2
4. Punjabi	4,102	2,206	Hindi .. 2,015
			Bengali .. 104
			Oraon ... 67
			Santhali .. 19
			Oriya .. 1
5. Mundari	7,397	3,340	Hindi .. 2768
			Bengali .. 434
			Santhali .. 124
			Gujrati .. 8
			Oriya .. 3
			Telugu .. 3

The most popular languages of the district are Hindi, Bengali, and Urdu.

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RELIGION AND CASTE

The Hindus form the majority of the population Next to Hindu are the Mohammedans . The Christians and Anglo-Indians form only small minority groups .the finger each community as enumerated in the census of 1951 are as follows *:-

Religions.	..	..	..	Person	Male	Females
Hindus	..	..	..	6,26,814	3,47,044	2,79,770
Mohammadans	..	..	..	88,052	51,528	36,524
Sikhs	..	..	..	4,429	3,084	1,345
Janis	..	..	..	359	130	229
Buddhists	..	..	..	24	15	9
Christians	..	..	..	7,790	5,312	2,478
Jews	..	..	..	5	1	4

From the above table it is apparent that the Hindu are predominant in the district. They form about 85.4percent of the population .the percentage Mohammedans is about 12.1 percent and The other communities form only 2.5 percent of the population .

Secondly the total population of tribal males under other religion is 3,008 while that of females is 1,471. The total male population under “other religions “, non-tribal is 18 while the female population is nil.

The Hindu as well as the Mohammedans are evenly distributed according to their respective proportion both in the rural and urban areas. All the other minor communities ,Viz., the Sikhs, Joins, Jains, Buddhists ,Christians and Jews are mostly found in the urban areas, their number in the rural areas is very small.

GENERAL STRUCTURE

The district of Dhanbad which comprises of the original sub- district of the same name and Chas and Chandankeary thanes which have been recently annexed to it by the Transfer of territories Act has a kind of population which make an interesting study by itself .The total population in the original sub-district enumerated in the 1951 was 7,31,700. To this has been added a further population of 1,85,000 inhabiting the know as Chas Revenue than. The growth of population in the original Sub-District by itself is an interesting study. In the census taken in 1872 very meager recode wear available and could be placed on the figures collected in the year . A more definite census came to be made

* District census Handbook of Dhanbad, page 74-75.

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1881 and the sub-district seems to have had a population of 1,54,742 .In 1891 beginnings were made of an industrial expansion and the census recorded an increase by 12.8 percent over 18181 figures .In the first decade after that the population was 25.1 percent over 1881 and 1900. This was accounted for by a large scale immigration from the western district of Bihar and Jharia Revenue than attracted a great bulk of immigrants recording an increase of 55 percent in population .This rise became a stature due to the growth of Mining . Industry and spite of virulent outbreak of cholera in decade between 1901 and 1911 there was an increase of 38.6 percent over the 1901 total .In the period between 1911and 1920 there were annul epidemics of cholera and influenza which carried away number of great number of people, but in spite of the devastation wrought during year the population increased by 18.2 percent and this was largely accounted for by immigrants form outside. Though the cholera and influenza epidemics deterred a great number of people to Jharia filed in those year of yet when all the circumstances were taken into consideration it would be found that the rate of immigration had been quite consideration. There was, however, a slump in coal trade in the between 1925 and 1930.the rate of immigrations decreased and the rise was only 14.8 percent in spite of good condition of public health. In 1931 to 1940 the of public health . in 1931 to 1940 the rise was 11.9 percent with the outbreak of the Second World War the coal prices shot up and there was again a boom in the coal market with a consequent rise of immigrants form the population had risen to 25.6 percent in decade in 1951.the rise in the population is most in Jharia and Sindri thanas and next rise is in Nirsra Reveue thana which conations the Maihton Dam It will be seen, therefore that between 1951 the population 1901 to1951 the population had increased by 4,54,578 large part of this increase was due to immigration form outside.

Another interesting fact that has to be this connection is that out 7,31,700 enumerated in the sub-district, only 5,13,319 were enumerated having their birth places in the original district of Manbhum of which of which this sub-district was a part .about 53,143 were the immigrants form outside the State and was of a floating character. The sex proportion in the immigrant form outside the State show this, while 35,032 were the males enumerated the female were only 18,111. This shows that a great number of those who had come in form outside State had no intention to set up a permanent about and live their families excepting in the case of the migrants form west Bengal and Madhya Pradesh in whose case the sex proportion is considerably higher than in the case of migrants form other State .there were 19,070 enumerated as belonging beyond India including those coming in from Pakistan . It will also appear that amongst those coming in form Pakistan both East and West quite a large number were

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migrants of permanent nature as their sex proportion would indicate. 11,035 were the total male persons, coming in from both wings of Pakistan and 7,056 were females. It will be found that about 73,000 enumerated in this district during 1951 census came from outside the State. Rest of 7,31,700 were the persons from the State, of which only 5,13,319 were born in the original district of Manbhum comprising Purulia and Dhanbad. Out of 6,59,387 persons belonging to the State, 1,46,068 belonged to places outside the district. A considerable proportion of those persons recorded to have been born within the district of Purulia and Dhanbad are the sons and daughters of recent immigrants from other districts of the State. It will be plain from this that it is difficult to ascertain what is the exact number of really indigenous population of the sub-district.

The foregoing comments will show that ethnic character and composition has been under stress of continual immigration. The culture of the people is bound to undergo modification of a heterogeneous nature. Each group of immigrants is bound to impart some characteristic of their culture. But in spite of this inter-mixture which has considerably softened the sharp lines of ethnic group, the original characteristic of indigenous groups of population is retained to a great extent. Manbhum of which this sub-district had been a part till 1st of November, 1956 has been a tract where nature's experiment to slow and gradual absorption of certain tribal into Hinduism was being performed for centuries and from that stand point Dhanbad presents an interesting ethnic study.

To what ethnic group the original population belonged is very difficult to determine at present. The real "autochthon" cannot be determined for various reasons and Mr. Dalton and Mr. Beglar are of the opinion that the original inhabitants of the district had a Jain culture. The Saraks of the Para and Raghunathpur parganas of the original district of Manbhum of which the present district is a part, seem to descended from those early Jains and the traces of this descent has been left in their name Saraks equivalent to Sarabaks of Jain religion. They are mostly vaishnavites at the present day and abstain from animal food and strictly adhere to non-killing. They have a custom like the Jain Marwari to finish their meals before evening. Most of them have taken to cultivation and they call themselves Hindu. It is estimated by some authorities especially Mr. Dalton that in 5th and 6th century B.C. the whole tract known as the district of Manbhum was suffused by a Jaina culture.*

It will appear also that though at that time this tract was not so extensively cultivated as Magadha, it had traces of flourishing civilization. Some roads from Tamralipta to Patna and Rajgir and Gaya passed through Pakbira, Telkupi, Jharia and the extensive ruins in Telkupi and Para indicate this fact. There seem to have been another road from Tamralipta to Banaras via Manbazar, Ranchi and

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the ruins at Katras suggest that there was a road connecting these two roads. Mr. Gokhale had drawn an inference from the ruins of these temples that at the time there was considerable affluence and the local ruler had established peace in the country. The tract seems to have been under the rule of Sasanka, a great persecutor of Buddhism and heretical religion and is mentioned as such by Hiuen-Tsang in his accounts. However that may be peace seems to have prevailed, which induced the merchants to lavish money over buildings and temples the ruins of which are found today.

Later near about the 7th century A.D. the tract seems to have been completely Hinduised and this was not by any force of arms but by slow penetration of Hindu intellect. A theory is propounded that the aboriginals of Chotanagpur who are found in great numbers in the tract had been pressed out into this region by Aryan migration to Magadha, and near about the 10th century they began to take refuge in this part of the century. To say therefore that the so-called aboriginals were the real "autochthon" of this tract will be a mistake. Mr. Inglis and Mr. Dalton are of opinion that Mundas and Bhumijis were tribes who originally inhabited in Magadha tract and had been pressed out of the into this region, where they found it convenient to reside and carry on their avocations. For a time they remained peaceful, but it seems from all accounts available that near about the end of 10th century, being reinforced by further immigration from the north and west, these aboriginal tribes gained and almost destroyed the Hindu influence in the locality. For the next few hundred years the cultural history is known. In the Mohammedan period (15th century A.D.) when Bhabishya Puran was compiled, we find that the population of the area including all those areas contained in the jungle mahals has been described as people of short stature dark complexion, heretic in their habit and their custom described as that being of Rakshasas, their women as no better than Rakshasas. The further description that is given in the Puran is that the people are addicted to strong drink and have no scruples about food. Nevertheless they had begun to claim the state of Kshatriyas because of their warlike nature though they conformed to none of the Hindu religion and were given to worship deities who could be hardly Hindu. Evidently the Puran was mentioning the animist of the Dravidian Dolicho Cephalic stock which are found in abundance even at period amongst the aboriginals. It will, therefore, be clear that by the 15th century A.D. ethnic composition of the locality had considerably changed and the Indo-Aryan who might have been living the tract had been completely overwhelmed by these people.

Nevertheless the Indo-Aryans seem to have exercised great influence in reforming the tribal and already in the 15th century there was a movement afoot by which the tribal to be upgraded or absorbed into Hinduism in spite of opposition from the

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Hindus rank. By this time the proselytizing capacity of the Hindus was becoming closed and the caste and sub-caste had emerged in definite and concrete forms. Further the admission was gradually becoming difficult and in later years became almost impossible for any tribe to be absorbed into Hindu fold. Hindu society there seems to have been some vigour left in the Hinduism itself and the subsequent cultural history of Manbhum of which this present district is a part is a history of slow and gradual absorption of the tribals into Hindu fold.

There had been further immigration of aboriginals into this tract from Hazaribagh and Ranchi districts in later period. The trace of the Santhals is ascribed to some later period. The Santhals who are found in numbers in Manbhum as also in this sub-district seem to have migrated from north and west. According to some authority like Mr. Dalton they settled in Chai and Champa in Hazaribagh district. Their traditions which will be referred to later described a great migration from this tract of Cl__i and Champa to Manbhum Dhalbhum and finally to Santhal parganas where they seem to have settled. Their migration is still continuing eastwards in the districts of Bengal and even to further east. Mr. E. A. Gait writing in 1911 said that the Santhal immigration is still continuing eastwards and it was difficult to foretell how and where that 2,35,000 was found to have settled in the district of Manbhum in 1921. In 1951 the Dhanbad sub-district minus the Chas and Chandankeary thanas which is comprised within the present district of Dhanbad accounted for nearly 50 thousand people speaking Santhali and they seem to have more or less their permanent abode and in spite of tendency to migrate eastward, it can safely be assumed that these Santhals have adopted this district as their home. There has been similar immigration of other tribals. It will appear to be difficult from the previous account to find out the real autochthon of this District.

Whatever that may be we can for working purposes take the Bhumij who were a comparatively recent immigrants as somewhat autochthonous in the original district of Mahbhum. According to some theory, being pressed by the Indo-Aryan out of Mahbhum. According to some theory, being pressed by the Indo-Aryan out of Magadha TRACT, Autochthon sprung out of the Land. When they came in great number and had settled for some century they began to be regarded by later migrant as having been born out of this land and with Hindus with whom probably they lived at peace for two centuries, but being encouraged by the great influx from the north and west were tempted to overwhelm them and establish a Bhumij swaraj in the whole tract comprised in what was erstwhile jungle mahal district. Not many of them are to be found at present in this district and in the last census Dhanbad district minus the Chas and

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Chandankeary thanas recorded only eight persons speaking Bhumij dialect. However, Mr. Dalton thinks that the Bhuian community of the northern part of the district of Manbhum which is comprised in this district are akin to Bhumij of the earlier period.

BHUMIJ

It is, however difficult to say whether Bhumij and the Bhuian are the same . At one time they might have been in great number throughout the entire district of Manbhum of which this present district is a part but during the recent history the activities of the Bhumij confined to mostly Barabhum, Dhalbhum and a part of Midnapur. Mr. Risley writing in 1903 considered this tribe to be of Munda origin and almost identified them with the Mundas. This theory was based on the fact that a branch of the present inhabitants use the Munda language and call themselves Muras. Like all Kolarian tribes they build no temples but worship mountain or Burn in the form of a stone smeared with vermilion which is set up in a saran of jahira, the sacred grave near the village. Now these things still continue amongst the Bhumij west of Ajodhya range. On the east of Ajodhya range the title of Mura has been replaced by the title sardar and almost all the Bhumij speak Bengali. They are fast adopting Hinduism and relegating the tribal deities to their female folks. They are also trying to claim a kshatriya status. After the Bhumij swaraj has been established they reigned for a time but there seems to have some fresh Hindu migration and the name of Bhumij was given to these persons by the Hindu immigrants from outside as they found them in possession of the country. The hinduisation of the Bhumij was expedited after this period. There seems to have been no political pressure to get them hinduised for by this time Hinduism had developed sufficient nostalgia to keep away from and refuse admission into their fold any tribe of heretical habits. In spite of that there seems to have been an effort on those who have been overwhelmed to upgrade themselves and gain a forced admission into the Hindu fold. The present day Bhumij in the east of Ajodhya range described themselves as Hindus and returned themselves as such in the last census. It is by a process of slow absorption that a whole tribe inhabiting the eastern portion of Ajodhya hills became converted into a caste forsaking their own language, not by any persecution or by any attempt at conversion but probably in spite of the Hindu reluctance to admit them into their fold . We need not mention in detail much about this race which recorded themselves to be 'autochthon' of the original district of Manbhum and probably were at a time also inhabitants of this district. The reason is that they are not to be found in any number in this district.

SANTHALS.

The case of the Santals is quite different. They seem to have come later in the districts of Manbhum, Midnapur, etc. and their immigration is still continuing eastward in the plains of Bengal.

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Mr. Risley recorded them as belonging to pure Dravidian stock. Their complexion very from a dark brown, to charcoal like black. Anthropologically nose approach is that of the Negroes, the bridge is a little more depressed in relation to the orbits than in the case with the Hindus. The hair is coarse and black, occasionally curling, zygomatic arches are prominent while proportion of the skull approaches the dolichocephalic type. Mr. Risley recorded a tradition which is still current amongst the Santhals, that the Santhals originated from a tribe of wild goose "Hansdak" which laid two eggs, From these two eggs were born Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Ayo. These begot the ancestors of seven sub-tribes: Hansdak, Murmum, Kishku, Hembrom, Marandi, Soren and Tudu. The earliest abode was Ahuripipri and Mr. Skrefsrud identified this place with pargana Ahuri in the Hazaribagh district. From this place they went westward to Khoj-kaman where all of them were destroyed for their wickedness by a fire rain excepting a single pair who were saved in a cave of mountain, Hara. From Hara they went to Sasanbera a plain on the bank of the great river (presumably Damodar). After that to Jarpi where they were obstructed by the great mountain Marangburu through which they could not find a pass. Here they offered sacrifice to the mountain God and prayed him to lead them through. After a while they found a pass leading to the country called Ahiri where they for a time dwelt and later went to Kendi and Chai and finally to Champa. In Champa they lived for many generations and there the present institution of the tribe was formed. At last the Hindus driven them down from Champa and they established themselves in Santal and ruled there for two hundred years. Again pressed by the Hindus they wandered under the Raja Hamir Singh to the eastern part of Manbhum district near Panchet. The Raja having adopted the rule over Hindus and wandered on to Santhal Parganas where they are now settled. Mr. Risley did not place much historical value on this tradition and tried to ascertain the real original habitant of the race by independent methods.

Mr. Skrefsrud and Colonel Dalton have two independent theories as to from where the Santhals came. While Mr. Skrefsrud is of the opinion that they were pressed into the Chotanagpur plateau by the Aryan pressure on the north-western tract known as Magadha, Colonel Dalton considered them to have come originally from Assam. Mr. Risley has no opinion about the place of their real origin and accepts that both the views might have the same degree of correctness or incorrectness. It however, appears clear from the tradition that at some period the Santhals had settled in Ahiripipri in Hazaribagh district and also in Chai and Champa. The tradition mentioned by the Santhals has some confirmation by another tradition mentioned by Colonel Dalton that old fort of Chai was occupied by one Jowara, a Santhal Raja who destroyed himself

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and his family on hearing of an approach of a Muhammadan army under Syed Ibrahim alias Malik Baya, a General of Mohammad Tuglak who died in 1353. A.D.

A further corroboration is available by the accounts of Rev .J. Philips in the Annals of Rural Bengal in which he has recorded another tradition of the Santhals, dwelling in the Chai and Champa where they greatly multiplied. There are two gates, Anhani gate and Behani gate in Chai and Champa fort. The attack by Malik Baya must have had some results but generally speaking the Santhals were driven out of the tract in Chai, Champa and Ahirpipri in Hazaribagh district by the pressure of Hindu migration. Later a part of the tribe made Manbhum their home and not till the advent of 19th century they were found in the Santhal Parganas where at present day they are found in great numbers.

The Santhals are a mild, timid and habitually law-abiding and obliging people. The essential characteristics of the Santhals recorded by the several writers have not changed very much though under the stress of the modern civilization a good deal of change is noticeable amongst them also.

They have special knack for clearing jungles and converting uninhabited portion into habited villages. It is said that in some tracts they are averse to payment of rents but the Zamindars favour them because of their capacity to reclaim lands and clear jungles. The relationship between the Zamindars and the Santhals were never very strained in this district excepting at Tundi where probably for the unreasonableness of the Zamindar the Santhals proved recalcitrant and successive Commissioners had to intervene one of them being Colonel Dalton. A compromise was eventually reached by which the Santhals of Tundi area have special rights in the jungle which their less fortunate brothers elsewhere have not. On the whole the zamindar treated them with some kind of consideration. The Santhals were an extremely conservative people and not till recent times they are to violate their own tribal laws. Nevertheless they are people with a sense of cleanliness and beauty which is in contrast with the low class Hindus. We find scarcely a Santhal Village where dirt will be found. They make their abode look cleaner and aesthetically superior to those surrounding them. The Santhals in their dress are much cleaner and there is a distinct aversness to wearing soiled cloths though there is no objection to wearing clothes which are torn and tattered. The traditional Santhal male will have nothing to do with anything except a loin cloth wrapped round the lower portion of his body up to the genitals. These extreme cases of scantiness of dress are fast disappearing amongst them and even in poorer classes the dress is somewhat more lavish than that. Both the young men and women

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are fond of ornaments. The Santhal young men sometimes wear their hair long, and necklaces made of Munga (corals) and other such materials worn round the neck. The female prefer silver ornaments for aesthetic reasons, for they contrast well with their complexion. Hansuli and the Kangna are much in use. More often than not the Santhal girls will love to bedeck their hair with flower and their love for flower is noteworthy. The santhals though great clearer of jungle and naturally industrious are not good cultivators and they raise comparatively poorer crops which supply their necessities. In modern times, however, improvements are being sought to be introduced in their cultivation system and their necessities have increased. Most santhals now a days have a shirt to their back and more educted one will like to have the lavishness of much better dress than his unlettered forefathers had. Necessaarily the mode of cultivation has to be changed because their necessities are not met by the home-grown rabi crops and home spun yarns which they wove into cloths more durable and lasting than the imported lcloth or the mill-made ones. Like Ho and other aboriginals, traditional Santhal girl used to we a sari which is longer than those worn by their Hindu sister. The sari generally reaches the lower portion up to the ankle a little over it and it is gracefully twined round the upper portion of the left shoulder of the chiseled body. The head is not covered. At the present day, however, the Santhal woman has begun to wear blouses and saris purchased from the bazaar.

Nevertheless their clenly habits still continue and one can find out a Santhal from other labouring classes by the care that a Santhal takes to avoid his cloths being soiled with dirt.

Five more sub-tribes were added to the original seven subtribes .They are Besra, Baske, Bheria, Paoria and Choren: Baske sect was formed after the original sub-tribes had come into existence because of the fact the man who founded sect originally, made offering to their God with their breakfast, The Besra is said to have descended from one Besra who is belived to have been licentious and a degraded one. A Besra Santhal is generally looked down. The other two Paoria and Choren seemed to have been totem names, Paoria standing for Pegion, and Choren for lizard. The Beediya sect is said to have descended from Santhal girl who could not account for the fathership of her child form whom the sect descended. Some Santhals say that the father was a Rajput and the mother was a girl of Kisku sect. This community is looked down because the Santhal is very solicitious of his women's honour so far as the outsiders are concerned.

In their food habits the Santhals have no nice scruples about any kind of meat and during the tribal hunt which is held annually everywhere ther is considerable Santhal population, they kill almost every kind of animals and take their flesh. They generally

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do not take food cooked by low class Hindus but make an exception of the Kurmi Mahatos whom according to one tradition they regard as their half brothers.

There is no caste system within the Santhal community and parda is out of question. Their women go about freely and earn together with their male folks, sometimes as much as the men do. By nature they are industrious and mild but extremely improvident and the traditional Santhal has scarcely any thought for the morrow. They will work the whole day, make little out of the day according to their capacity, and spend away the whole earning in dance and drinking and set out to work the next day. If they have accumulated something to lay by, they stop working till they have feasted and danced away the savings. There is of course considerable change towards the better and even the Santhal now is looking forward for the morrow and is not so improvident as he used to be some 20 years back.

The social structure of the Santhal is singularly complete and self-sufficient. In villages which are exclusively his and dominated by the Santhals (and such a village can be found even today in the area of the Santhal Parganas), his affairs are generally controlled by the Manjhi or the village headman. He works through an assistant who is called Paramanik. This assistant holds some lands while the Manjhis are generally the ijaradars or the collectors of rents and remain responsible for payment of rent and allot lands amongst raiyats. Jog Manjhis and Jog Paramaniks are the executive officers through whom the Manjhis and Paramaniks are supposed to be the superintendent of the morals and keep a watch over the tribal morals. Then there is Naiki or the village priest of the aboriginal deities and the Kurum Naik is the assistant priest who propitiates the spirit of the hills and the jungles by scratching his arms till they bleed, and mixing the blood with rice, and placing it in a spot frequented by the spirits. Then there is the gorait, village messenger who acts as peon to the headman and is to some extent the servant of the zamindar. His chief duty within the village is to bring the Manjhi the Paramanik and raiyats before the zamindar. Then there are the Paraganits, that is the head of the tribe in certain area. The disputes and land disputes of any kind used to be settled in a meeting of all the Parganits in the area during the tribal hunt or occasion like that. The Santhals seldom took resort to courts in former times and this helped the maintenance of the village order of the Santhals to a great extent. It will show elsewhere that this system is gradually dwindling except in certain areas in the Santhal Parganas where by special legislation an attempt has been made to preserve the Santhal village system. The Santhals indifferently bury or cremate their dead bodies.

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In matters of inheritance the tribals follow their own custom except when they claim to be Hinduised. The sons inherit in equal shares and the daughter has no claim to a portion as of right but usually gets a cow given to her when the property is divided. Failing sons the father takes, failing him the brothers, after them then male agnates but in case there are no male agnates the daughters inherit transmitting the succession to her children. Mr. Risley is of opinion that the Santhals have nothing in common with the Hindu succession, but if these customs are taken into account it will be found that the agnatic succession is a relic of Mitakshara law and females exclusion is quite in consonance with that doctrine. The only outstanding difference seems to be that if a man dies leaving a widow or young son the widow manages the properties till all the sons are old enough to divide the property and to start a separate household. Even so the widow takes up her abode with the youngest. It is only in a case of remarriage by the widow that the agnates can take the property in trust till the sons are of age and she gets nothing. The Hindu widow estate is not known but Mr. Risley is not quite justified in saying that there is nothing in common between the Hindu succession and tribal succession of the Santhals. There are points of similarity, though there are differences also of fundamental nature.

In religion the Santhals are classed as an animist, a very vague term, which can mean many things. In practice the Santhals believe in an all powerful deity from whom all the manifestations of nature have sprung. He does not seem to have any clear idea or a philosophy as to what kind of deity it is. But all the same his reference to all the natural phenomenon in a certain way shows that he regards them as manifestations of the 'Thankur'. If it is raining the Santhal will refer to it as 'He rains'. If it is thundering he will refer to it "He thunders".

Besides this vague overall deity to whom offerings are no longer made for his absolutely impartial attitude, there are a number of deities to whom the Santhals offer their reverence. Mr. Risley is of opinion that it is doubtful whether this overall Thakur which has sometimes been identified with the sun was really a Santhal invention or not. He says that this was probably a later introduction into the Santhal mythology of the Hindu 'Brahman' in a vague form. It is difficult to say whether this is so or not but Mr. Risley's contention seems to have some justification because this deity has an alias 'Thankur'. The other deity which are now in fashion amongst the Santhals are the Marang Buru the great mountain. The 'Moronko'. The fire God who are supposed to be five in number, 'Jahir Era' a sister of Moronko, 'Gossain Era' another sister of Moronko. The Pargana was the chief of the Bongas or Gods and master of witches. Manjhi is a sort of second in command of Pargana. The Gods Manjhi and Pargana are peculiarly anthropomorphic because they seem to be corresponding to

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the Manjhi and Pargana of the Santhal village system. The idea seems to be that God like men needs supervising officials like the Pargana and the Manjhi. All these Gods have their place allotted in Jahirthan excepting Morong Buru who is worshipped privately in the family. Besides these Gods each family has two special kinds of Gods, Orak Bonga and Abge Bonga. The name of Orak Bonga of a particular family are many such as Barpahar, Deshwali, Sash, etc. There are similarly Abge Bonga, such as Dharasore, Ketke, Mundra, Nilachandi, Kudrachandi, etc. The name of Orak Bonga for a particular family is never known to one in the family excepting the eldest son and when the names were attempted to be collected by Mr. Skrefrud he could do so only through those Santhals who had been converted to Christianity. Human sacrifice to Morang Buru were sometimes made, but at present the practice has discontinued owing to the Government's vigilance.

Belief in witchcraft is peculiar to all Adibasis and the Santhals is not free from them. It is not infrequently that murder takes place on the suspicion that a certain disease in a family or village is caused by a certain person believed to be a witch. Whether a disease has been caused by the witchcraft or not is detected by a particular process by the Santhal, and if he is confirmed that it has been caused by some witch he finds out the man or woman whom he suspects to be the cause of the disease.

There are some interesting stories in the Santhal mythology which need mention. The eclipse is believed to have been caused by a God called Dusad catching hold of the sun or the moon. It is said that in a year of famine the sun and the moon stood pledged for the mankind for grains lent by God Dusad. The debt has not yet been repaid and every year the God stretches out his hand and catches hold of the sun or the moon in order to be paid back the loan of grain for which this God stood surety. It is for this reason that during the eclipse the Santhals bring out their stores of grains in the open and make great noise with their kettle drums to propitiate the God Dusad so that he may release the sun or the moon from his clutches.

There is an interesting story about the sun and the moon. It is said the sun and the moon begot many children called the stars (Evil) and the world grew so hot by their light that something seemed necessary to be done. The sun and the moon conferred together and it was agreed that the moon shall first devour her twelve daughters, while the sun will devour his 12 sons so that the heat abates. The moon being a woman and more tricky bagged all her 12 daughters and kept them concealed while the sun actually devoured all the children that remained with him. In the night all these 12 daughters were released and the sun found out his mistake. In rage he pursued the moon and tried to cut off her head and would not release her till she relinquished two of her daughters, Venus and Sirius which are found even in the

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morning . But the sun remember the perfidy of the moon and chases her every month and allows her rest only once in a month when she is in full bloom. It is noteworthy that the santhal explains the phases of the moon this way.

As far as marriages are concerned we shall have occasions to deal with it later on. It can be said here that the santhal marriage system obliterates illegitimacy and there can be hardly any illegitimate children amongst the santhals except on the occasion when a santhal girl runs away with a non-santhal.

It will be noteworthy that there has been gradual hinduisation even amongst the santhals in the sasdar subdivision of the original district of manbhum., in this district gravitation towards Hinduism is apparent from the names that the santhals have begun to adopt. Names like gopal manjhi, narayan manjhi, mahadeb murmur, jadu soren have come to replace the traditional santhal names such as ledha manjhi , churka hembrom, etc. a class of them call themselves deshwali and returned themselves as hindus. It appears that where the pressure of Hinduism was great, even though the santhal had been numerous they were impressed by the superior caliber of the hindu intellect and tied to upgrade themselves, though there seems to have been no inclination on the part of the hindu to take them in to there fold . it should be noted that where a tribe converted itself into a caste, the caste tended to be depressed. This tendency is noticed everywhere, and those tribes who have claimed themselves to be hinduised, have invariably been in the lowest rung of the hindu ladder because of the fact that the hindu society till the present decade showed and extreme unwillingness to admit any other race of tribe into their fold.

It would appear somewhat surprising why Christianity or islam could not make a headway amongst the tribes in this area in spite of large promises of equality that they made and the large material advantage that followed from being converted into a Christian. The tendency had always been to be hinduised and there are evidence that the whole tribe had converted themselves into a caste in the lowest rung of the hindu ladder. This is a phenomenon which in our opinion requires some explanation.

One view seems to be possible. The tribal mind is essentially a conservative one. It could not bear the impact and the aggressive ness of unitary system of godhear without any variation. It would not readily discard it own deities and submit to a social system which would intrude too much upon its tribal organization. That is precisely what the Christian missionaries demand of the tribal. So far as muslims are concerned, no conscious attempts at conversion seem to have been made³ for the muslims who were always in a minority. Even if there were many the results would not have been much better except through fire and sword. The hindus by their supreme unconcern about the tribal deities and organisation.

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made no intrusion upon their deities. It is by their own will that the tribal adopts a deity or two of the hindu pantheon and begins to claim to be under the hindu fold while the tribal deities are retained in the beginning. Gradually they fall off and are relegated to of lowere order and females and finally in some cased theyt are practivally abandoned. The tribal system of social organization remains uninfluenced for some time and continues till to this day uninfluenced in many cased. Some sort of a hotch potch Hinduism is adoptem. Some innovations are made in the tribal laws which suit the genius of the tribe and finally the tribal system though leaving some relics behind is abrogated. Thus a tribe becomes converted in to a caste slowly and gradually they force themselves into the hindu fold, and what has been achieved by large freedom allowed to the tribe by the supreme unconcern shown by the hindus, could not be achieved by the more aggressive and solicitous missionaries. There is nothing so bad as too much solicitousness. A child uner too much cares runs away from its guardian, but it the guardian be indifferent the child grows by itself and some how adopts himself to the environments.

This has precisely been the case with the tribals in the whole of chotanagpur where coversion of Christianity is far out numbered bty wholesale conversion to Hinduism by slow and gradual process. More oraons have converted themselves into tana bhagats n the district of ranchi than the solicitousness of the Christian has been able to achieve amongst the tribal like mundas and oraons in the district.

Kurmi mahato.

This brings us to consideration of the whole sale conversion of another tribe known as kurmi mahato in this district. They are highly hinduised and almost all of them profess the hindu religion. They are beginning to claim a better status than they originally seem to have acquired in the hindu fold and in point of culture they can be said definitely superior to the santhals with whom they might have had some struggle during the ancient past. Mr. Dalton considered them to be akin to the indol Aryan group of kurmis in bihar. In descriptive ethnology of bengal he seemed to have held that thy have an indo Aryan look. In the original district of manbhum thy are particularly numerous and he notes tat they might have had some struggle with the santhals over whom theyt gained supremany. Writing later mr. sisley found them to be short and of dark complexion and quite distinct from the kurmis of bihar. He ascribed to them a Dravidian origin and he had good grounds to do so for they differ anthropometrically very little from the santhals with whom they seem to have lived together for generations in this district. His impression was later

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confirmed by Dr. Grierson who considered them to be definitely of a Dravidian stock and held that they might have had a language of their own which had been replaced by either Bengali or Kurmali a very corrupt form of eastern Magahi with a mere sprinkling of Bengali in it. The tribe retained till recent times the Kolarian village system in which the Mahato is the village headman and controls all the village affairs like the Manjhis of the Santhals.

Mr. Coupland writing in 1911 accepted the view put forward by Risley and Grierson and by and large it has come to be accepted that the Kurmi Mahatos of Manbhum and Dhanbad were very distinct from the Kurmis of Bihar. In the case of former the 'r' is soft while in the case of the latter the 'r' is hard almost verging on soft 'd' in recent years there have been several cases from Manbhum district where tribal customs were pleaded. The case *Kirtibas Mahato vs. Budhan Mahato* reported in 6 P.L.T. page 604 is a case of a Hinduised Mahato. It was said that they were governed by their tribal laws. It was held that the aborigines in Chotanagpur denote a race and not a religion. It seems to have been accepted by the High Court that the Kurmi Mahatos were aborigines of Manbhum though they have been completely Hinduised. Later this decision was followed in *Ganesh Mahato vs. Shib Charan Mahato* (A.I.R. 1931 Patna 305) both the parties to the suit were Chotanagpur Kurmis and both admitted that they were aborigines by race. The dispute was in regard to succession law by which they were governed. It was eventually held that where the parties to the suit admitted that originally they were aborigines but the families had subsequently become Hindus and had adopted Hindu religion, it was on the party alleging that they were not governed by the Hindu law of inheritance and succession to prove any special custom or rules prevailing amongst them. It was, therefore, accepted by such a tribunal as the High Court that the Kurmi Mahatos of this area are distinct in race from the Kurmis of Bihar. Mr. Risley's and Mr. Grierson's remarks have been amply vindicated in these cases. The fact is further established by the Mahatos' adherence till the present day to the worship of Gramdevata in the Jahira that they are in village grove closely resembling to Jahirasthan of the Santhals. Though Jahira is not so important to the Kurmi Mahatos who had been completely Hinduised as it is to the Santhals yet reverence is done to the god residing in the Jahirasthan by the village priest till this day.

There is one more fact which points distinctly to their Dravidian origin. Their look closely resembles those of the Santhals and Mr. Risley is quite justified in holding that there is very little to differentiate between a Santhal, Bhumij or a Mahato in this area. By one tradition recorded by Mr. Risley the Santhal considers the Kurmis as his half brother begotten by the same father and two mothers and even to this day the orthodox Santhals who disdain to take food from any other tribe or Hindu caste will willingly take

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Food cooked by a kurmi Mahato . besides till lately the Bihar contingent of kurmis referred to the Chotanagpur kurmis as kolkurmis and in 1931. Mr. Lacey reports that the superintendent, Purulia Leper Asylum could not persuade a Kurmi constable from Bihar to take food by the side of a local Kurmi patient. In early 20th century when Risley wrote about the caste he found them to be numerous in Mayurbhanj and Midnapore and opined that they were like the Santhals divided into subtribes with definite totems for each of the subtribe amongst the kurmis. At the present day, however, the totemic origin of the kurmi gotras or sect cannot be traced while the Santhal totems can be identified by use of their surname, Soren, Marandi, Hansdak, etc. Kurmis, all of them use the common title of Mahato, making it practically impossible to determine whether they had a totem name or not . in rare exception as is reported by Mr. Lacey in Census Report of 1933 that the Kurmi would pride himself as having a totem name such as 'Bak' a bird. This indicates that a considerable progress has been made towards Hinduism by this caste and in the present day the tendency amongst the Kurmis is to upgrade themselves into some higher caste. When Dalton wrote in 1872 the Kurmi though Hinduised to a very great extent was not treated as 'jalacharaniya' or a person from whom can be accepted by a higher caste. That disability is retained to some extent. But the Kurmi Mahatos have certainly attained a place of pride and are much higher in rank than Bauri, Dome and certain other Hindu lower caste. In recent years there has been a tendency amongst the Kurmis to upgrade themselves still higher. The Kurmis of Bihar claim for themselves the status of Kshatriya, and probably in order to gain more numerousness the Chotanagpur contingent was also admitted in the general Kurmi fold in a resolution passed in a solemn conclave. A general Kurmi fold in a resolution passed in a solemn conclave. A conference of the Kurmis was held in Muzaffarpur in 1929 and there were three delegates from Manbhum representing the Chotanagpur Kurmis. There it was decided that there was no difference between the Kurmis of Chotanagpur and the Kurmis of Bihar proper and that the Kurmis have a Kshatriya origin. The three delegates returned after donning the sacred thread on them. This conference in Ghagrajuri in Manbhum which was attended by the representatives of the Kurmis of the Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and it was agreed in that conference that there would be inter dining and inter marriage between the kurmis of Bihar and the Kurmis of Chotanagpur. It was also decided that the Kurmis had a Kshatriya origin and had a right to wear the sacred thread. In consonance of the resolution in the solemn conclave many Kurmis of this area began to wear the sacred thread and claimed the Kshatriya status for them, though there was opposition from some orthodox ranks. The zamindar of Panchet seems to have patronized the movement as most of his tenantry belonged to this class. However, though there was a tendency of upgrading themselves by gradual degree and pass themselves as

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Jalacharaniya class for inter-dining and inter marriage with other Kurmis, not much was achieved for sometime and the distinction between the two sects of Kurmis is still observed. Oases of inter marriage are very rare and where they had been recorded they are mostly for private gain.

It has further to be noted that the Kurmis tried to banish many of their healthy social customs. The freedom allowed to their women to go to bazaar, etc. began to be curtailed and denied, and it was agreed that no woman should go to the bazaar unless accompanied by a male chaperon. In other words the Kurmis wanted to forget altogether their tribal origin and their affinities with the other tribals in the area. It may be said to their credit that they are much more industrious and enterprising than the other tribals in the area. Unlike the Santhals they have a much greater thought for the morrow and is not at all improvident. Almost all of them have abstained from drinking which is the characteristic of all the tribals specially the Santhals who take rice beer or Handia in great quantities during the festivals and not infrequently after the day's work is done. The Kurmis are, however, not expert in clearing jungles as the Santhal is, though much better and prudent cultivators. In recent times education has fast spread amongst the Kurmis and their scruples about food are much more pronounced than any other aboriginal tribe. The Kurmis for instance would not touch beef or pork which the Santhal would, though the Santhals usually do not kill cow.

There are clear indications in their social organization showing that they belong to a Kolarian tribe. The Kurmi caste is organized in several sects, all exogamous. Some important gotras or the sects have ending "ar" such as Korewas, Bunowar, Hastawar, Kesariar, Sankhwar, Hindiar, Gular, Swachahamutrawar. Obviously the gotras like Sankowar and Keshariar seem to have totemistic origin though it is difficult to say what was the actual totem in each case. The village headman is generally the Mahto but at the present day all the sects use the title of Mahato as their surname, and it is difficult from the names to decide to which sect a Kurmi belongs. The Kurmi has a tendency to discard their totems and more closely adhere to Hinduism and that explains why the sect name which is still prevalent amongst the Santhals, though they also have begun to use the title of Manjhi to denote all the Santhals, is not at all prevalent amongst the Kurmis.

So far as the village organization is concerned the Mahato is the village headman and over Mahato is the Deshmandal who seems to be super headman presiding over the village sabhas of ten or 12 villages, then there is the parganait corresponding to Santhal parganait ruling over all the Deshmandals and Mahatos in matters social and cultural. At one time these parganait, Mahatos and Deshmandals seem to have exercised a considerable influence over

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the village and all matters relating to caste and even civil disputes were decided of the panchaiti of the tribals by these officials. The modern tendency which will be noted hereafter is different and the institutions seem to have lost much ground in recent years.

So far as religion is concerned, the kurmi Mahatos of this tract as also of the district of Purulia seem to be completely Hinduised. The office of the Brahmin priest is used in performance of the pujas and other functions. There are however, certain offerings which are made by the Mahatos or Layas. Offerings of fowls are made before gramdevata before cultivation begins. The kudra variously known as Besaichandi or kudrasiru is similarly worshipped by the whole tribe. There are some other tribes who claim to be Hinduised and worship deities which have not found a place in the general Hindu pantheon. It may be mentioned that gramdevata who is worshipped in the grove of the village is not much of importance as the Hindu deities which the Mahatos have later adopted. Their worship has been relegated to lower order of priest. Besides these relics of the tribal nature there is another relic of importance. All men of Mahato families make offerings to some family deity or other which is different in nature from the Hindu deity. Mahamai is worshipped by every family by the females. Often it would be a piece of stone smeared with vermilion as is the gramdevata in Jharkhand, or the kudra. It is not exactly ascertainable as to whether the kurmis had a similar custom like the Santhal which forbids them to disclose the name of their family deity Orak-bonga to any one but the eldest son. Besides the family deity the Mahato performs some kind of offerings in their respective fields during the cultivation season to God that is said to be presiding over the fields and crops. This God varies from man to man and is not a general one. The presiding deity of one field may be different from the presiding deity of the other and each owner has to offer sacrifice according to his own methods and means. All these distinctly point to the aboriginal origin of the tribe or the caste. It may be noted in this connection that the Mahatos though industrious and intelligent are averse to the mining profession, while the Santhals take to Mining very frequently, and are supposed to be good miners. A Mahato would not go under ground and remain content with cultivation or any other subsidiary profession.

In recent times education has spread more rapidly amongst the kurmis than any other caste classed as backward, and they are coming in larger proportion to take their place in offices in the district. Lawyers and men of other professions are more numerous amongst them than any other tribal caste of a depressed nature.

Marriage custom of these Mahatos will be dealt separately along with other marriage custom prevalent in the district and not much be said at present except that the Mahatos permit

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divorce and widow re-marriage, etc. the general tendency is to adhere to the Dayabhag inheritance rules so far as succession is concerned. In great many cases in this district Mitakshara is claimed to be followed but often it happens in a that while one party alleges Mitakshara to be the rule of succession amongst them, the other party says that Dayabhag is the rule. In very few cases a claim is made that tribal custom is still followed in the area to which a party belongs and the tribal law is rather hard on them because it excludes the females altogether from succession. In this district Mahatos are spread over everywhere but a large concentration of them will be found in Baliapur, Jorapokhar, Chandankhari and Chas thanas.

BAURIS

The next Dravidian class of a semi-aboriginal nature who are to be considered are the Bauris. They were quite numerous in the original district of Manbhum and spread throughout Dhanbad district. A particular concentration of them can be found in the part adjacent to Bengal that is in Nirsa and Chirkunda thanas. This caste whom Risley considered to be of Mongoko-Dravidian origin seems to have had a tribal origin and retained some traits of their tribal character. They are numerous not only in this district but also in other districts of Bengal such as Bankura, Burdwan and Birbhum. They have somewhat more regular features, than the Santhals though dark in complexion like the Santhals or Kurmis. Complexion varies from dark brown to coal black and where there has been mixture of blood with the Indo-Aryan which is not very infrequent considering the Bauri women's laxity in sexual habits, the complexion may be even light brown. This of course is not very general. The stature is medium. The Bauri as a caste is in the lowest rung of the Hindu order and do not retain much of their tribal system which in remote past they might have possessed they were mostly palanquin bearers and lived by such menial jobs as day labourers having little or sometime no land of their own some of course used to hold lands in lieu of police duties under the zamindar.

They, like the Santhals have taken to mining and until 10 or 12 years back quite a large number of Bauris and Santhals were to be found in the mines in this area. They are gradually losing their hold over this avenue of employment and are being replaced by more adventurous Bihar castes from North and West. The Bauri seems to be a comparatively poor worker than the Santhal though as a cultivator he is cleverer. In certain cases the Bauris had Ghatwali tenures which indicate that they were original inhabitants of this district and had wielded some influence. There are distinct traces of totemism, and the red backed heron and the dog are objects of reverence to the Bauri. If anybody molests a heron he stands in danger from being expelled from the caste. The Bauri's reverence for the dog is noted by the proverb that if the dog wails in disapproval no would perform his marriage. (kukur kare kain

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to Baurir Biha nai) the Bauri has strong objection in touching the horse's dung. Dogs are never killed, neither a dead dog is touched by a Bauri. If a dog is drowned in a tank the entire rainy season has to elapse before a Bauri could go to that tank. Like the aboriginal tribes the Bauri is addicted to strong drink which which like the santhals they do not distill but purchase from bazaar. The santhal is more addicted to rice beer prepared at his home with the ingredients which he collects by himself by himself. The Bauri will take any kind of strong drink offered to him by bazar grog shop- holder though illicit distillation is not altogether unknown to them. The pachai from of liquor is sometimes prepared by them and consumed in great quantity. They have their caste panchayat though the tribal village system which they might have had at one time does not exist at the present. This fact has its disadvantages. The Bauri has sunk lower then any of those Dravidian or kolarain classes which have forced themselves within the hindu fold.

Be it said to their credit that the Bauris have added at least one deity to the hindu pantheon and she is Mansa which is worshipped on the Nagpanchami day. Though this deity was not absolutely unknown and there are many traditions about Lakshindar and Behula, to raise her to a rank of those divinities who are entitled to offering at a particular period was no mean a job, and the Bauris did it along with another tribe called Bagdis who are not to be found in this district Mansa has a general acceptance among the Hindus of the locality. The Mansa puja is done with great éclat and though commonly known as the festival of the Bauris is observed by some other castes also. A holiday is observed in this district and many other castes besides the Bauris partake in it.

Along with these deities the Bauris like the santhals worship the great mountain but in their case it is known as Barpahari kudrasini, Besaichandi, which are distinctly aboriginal deities and have no connection with the Hindu pantheon. Till this day the Bauris have not shown any great desire to upgrade themselves. There is a sort of inferiority complex in the whole caste which makes them stick to their status though in recent times some changes in the mentality of the Bauris can be noted. The sexual habit of a Bauri woman is loose and no great importance is put to woman's chastity. The Bauri women live in unashamed concubinage with persons belonging to other castes and eventually decoy their paramour into their own caste by making them pay for a fast to the Bauri caste men. Divorce is permitted and easily obtained.

BHUIYANS.

Another class who can be classed as aboriginal or antochthon of this part are the Bhuiyans who can scarcely be distinguished from the Ghatwals. They have a distinct Dravidian origin according to Mr. Dalton. In recent years the Bhuiyans have upgraded themselves.

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in many cases because most of them performed police duties and many out of became zamindars holding lands for the services they rendered.

It can be said that the Bhuiyan is much more Hinduised than the Bhumij of the original district of Manbhum and traces of any village system are not to be found amongst themselves. A special study has not been made about them but it has now come to be believed that the caste who call itself Ghatwar in part of Chotanagpur are really Bhuiyans performing the police duties and holding lands in lieu of their services. This gave them a favourable position and some Bhuiyan rajas with pure blooded kshatriyas the result that followed is that the great mass of Bhuiyans or Ghatwars tried to upgrade themselves in the kshatriya class and the Ghatwars who can scarcely be separated from the Bhuiyan now say that they are kshatriya. During our enquiry we came across Ghatwars who told us that there are several classes amongst them first is sings the 2nd who bear the title roy and 3rd bear the title thakur and fourthly the lowest in orders don the sacred thread and on enquiry it was found that in some cases the sacred thread is donned after the performance of jagna. The Bhuiyan who resorts to such a kind of sacred thread is debarred from taking to the plough and the informants say that in their cases they have donned the sacred thread without any ceremony and are not debarred from taking to the ploughs. It is in exceptional cases where the economic status of the man were such as permits him to keep away the menial labour that the device of taking the sacred thread after the performance of jagna is resorted to. Obviously only in cases of Bhuiyan zamindars this method is adopted while in other cases the sacred thread is donned as a mark of superiority by a simple ceremonial in the family itself the lowest order of the Bhuiyans do not take to the sacred thread at all. It will be clear from the foregoing account that the Ghatwars and the Bhuiyans who called themselves Ghatwars have begun to claim the Kshatriya status themselves while due to some orthodoxy in the caste itself one section has chosen to remain neglected in a lower order. Marks of animism are not traceable amongst this class. Our informant regarding this class say that those who have donned the sacred thread have mended their ways also. They do not permit divorce nor do they allow their widows to re-marry. But this is so only of the Ghatwar class of the Bhuiyans while among the lowest order who still call themselves Bhuiyans, widow re-marriage is permitted and divorces are recognized. Amongst the very well-to-do, the pardah has been adopted but the less fortunate class who call themselves Ghatwars have to labour and permit freedom to their women. It has to be remembered that there are a number of Bhuiyan zamindars who in consonance with the practice of all.

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zamindars of higher descent adopted the pardah system and kept their women in seclusion Bhuiyans are more numerous in the present district of Dhanbad than were in the sadar subdivision in the original district as the Bhumij had in the southern part of the original district of Manbhum . It has also to be remembered that practices district of Manbhum. It has also to be remembered that practices of the Bhuiyans of this district do not materially differ from the Bhuiyans of the other districts such as Gaya and Hazaribagh where they are to be found in sufficient number. The only distinction seems to be that the local Bhuiyans worship the deity Dewan sahib which is not worshipped elsewhere. In spite of all these tendencies the Bhuiyan and Ghatwars both continue to be depressed and the general admittance into a higher status has not been accorded to them in Hindu fold.

MALLIKS.

We have now to take into consideration another caste of Mongolo Dravidian origin which seems to have had a tribal origin they are the Malliks they are mostly to be found in the Jorapokhar; Sindri and Jharia thanas. According to Mr. Gait they can be connected with the Malpaharias of the Santhal parganas. According to one of the traditions prevalent amongst the caste it is held that the zamindari of Pandra in thanas Nirsha belonged to Malliks who had been driven away and defeated by a member of the Tundi family. The Malliks have been Hinduised though traces of totemism are still to be found amongst them, have the same totem Patrishi, Along with the Kali, Mansa and other Hindu Gods they worship Gods which are not known to Hinduism such as Baghoot, Maya, Babiari, Thuiaha and Manangiri and to these deities offerings of fowls, goats and sheep are made. It is only when the sun god which is called Bhagwan is worshipped in every five years, the Malliks would seek the offices of a degraded Brahmin and in other festivals their own priest the layas or even themselves make the offerings. In marriages and sradh the offices of the Brahmin priest are called. In their food habits excepting beef they take and consider themselves to be higher in rank than Hari and Dom and would not take food cooked by them but they have no objection to take food from any higher caste and readily take food cooked by a Bhuiyan. There seem to be no sub-sects amongst them. The only other sect which they themselves name is Rajbanshi Mallik and in contradiction call themselves Deobanshi Mallik'.

MAHULIS.

There is another class which has to be considered. These are Mahulis which speak a dialect akin to that of Santhals. It seems to be very probable that they are of a branch of the Santhals. Tribe who adopted Hinduism and forced themselves into the Hindu fold. Their general occupation is basket making and working in bamboos.

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They have traces left in their society which make them identifiable with the santhals with whose language their dialect shows great similarity. Though they have adopted Hinduism and worship Kali, Manasa and other deities, Marang Buru by the name of Barpahar is still one of their favourite deities. They have, however, no tribal village system nor are their marital laws quite similar to that of a santhal. Cut off from their moorings they have depressed themselves and are regarded not much better in class than the Dom who work on bamboos in other parts of India. They do not have much of the intense pride of their caste as the santhal has though their drink habit is quite the same as that of the santhal. Has though their drink habit is quite the same as that of the santhal laxity in sexual habit is noticeable just as is the case with Bauris.

TURIS.

The Turi who generally used to adopt the profession of drummers and instrument men are another set of depressed classes within and instrument men are another set of depressed classes within the Hindu fold who need some consideration. They divide themselves in this district into Maghaya Turi and Bangla Turi indicating that quite a lot of them are settlers from the eastern Magha (district of Hazaribagh, Gaya and Patna) country while the other variety is the Bengal variety of the caste. Which is the more indigenous is difficult to say at present nor can they be easily distinguished by their language. One would have the natural impression Maghaya will speak the khotta Bangla. But this is not so in all cases. The persons known as Bengali Turi use the Maghaya patoi which according to Grierson is a corrupt form of Maghi largely interspersed with Bengali so that it has come to have an opposite name khotta Bangla. Both kinds of Turi speak almost the same language in some localities. They are probably distinguished from each other or the western countries. The distinction has not vanished even at present and no inter marriage usually takes place amongst the two sets of Turis. But in some cases inter-marriage has been recorded. There is a tradition that the Turi originally belonged to higher caste but one of their members in a conclave of good people polluted himself, by touching with his teeth, the leather ties connecting two pieces to drum cover, in order to tighten the drum and make it ready for playing. From that day onward the caste became depressed and lost all grace and Badala and Sadala the two originators of Bengal and Maghaya Turis were treated as outcast. The Turis generally took to drum beating and the profession of playing on instrument like drums. It is said that the Maghaya variety would not touch anything except big drum while the Bengali variety will play upon the small drums. There is some laxity of sexual habits in Turi women but they do not like the Bauris admit into their caste any paramour of their women on a caste feast being given. The Turi in one sense takes pride in his low origin and great reverence to other castes and would consider it a sin to the caste itself, if they have to offer.

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Food to a high caste man. The son of a Turi concubine, however, is admitted to the cast but with this reservation that he will be considered to be an illegitimate son of a Turi girl. They are not accepted with the grace with which a Bauri admits the sons of a concubine into his fold.

In his religion the Turi is a Hindu who worships all the deities of the Hindu pantheon but kudra of the aboriginals variously as Besaichandi, kumrashine or khelachandi is worshipped with the same reverence as the Bauri or a Mallik worshipping it Baghut or Bakaipahari is another favourite deity Offerings to these deities are made by the Layas who may be of this caste or any other caste in the village who have a reverence for these It may be conjectured from these circumstances that the Turis are aboriginals who have forced themselves into the Hindu fold and the specially local deities worshipped by them.

HIGHER CASTES.

So far as the higher Hindu castes concerned more indigenous of them present the notable feature of dividing themselves into Bengali and paschima, though not much of the difference is kept in the patois they speak in some cases except in the very highest difference in languages is noticeable. While the paschima or Maghaya Brahmins take to the patois of khotta Bangla, the more indigenous Bengali Brahmins speak Manbhum patois with its peculiarity at their home homes It will be noteworthy that if those using khotta Bangla have to use a language instead of a patois they take more easily to Bengali than Hindi which they speak very indifferently In the classes lower than the Brahmin and kayasthas both Maghaya and the Bengali caste use the khotta Bangla tongue as common language and both take to Bengali with greater ease, when they have to take recourse to a language, than they take to Hindi It may however, be mentioned that the speaking of indifferent and incorrect Hindi is the characteristic of all people speaking Maghi tongue in whatever form it is spoken in different districts.

BRAHMINS.

The Bengal variety of Brahmins which has grown almost indigenous by their long association and settlement in this district are as usual divided into Gains and Gotras. The most prominent amongst them being the Bando, chatto, Mukhuti and roy groups of Gains due to peculiar environments they sometimes have adopted title of deoghoria, Mahatha, Mani though the original Gains seems to have been one of Bando, chatto, Mukhuti, Roy or Ghosal groups. In comparatively earlier times the ideas of kulinism were prevalent and practice of hypergamy was much extant. It was not unusual to

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Find kulin Bramin of Bando, chatto or Mukhuti groups with several wives because of their high status in the kulin world At the present however, kulinism has completely disappeared in spite of the fact that this district continues to be backward and conservative in comparison to other surrounding Amongst the settlers from the west are Ojhas, pandeys, Tewaris who call themselves either kanouji or Maithili but they differ greatly in habits and customs from the parent stock and adopted many Bengali virtues and vices of area.

It may be said that of the two classes of Brahmins the Bengal Brahmins are more naturalized to the soil than migrants from the west and North. Their period of stay in the district has certainly been longer than those of kanouji and the Tirhuti Brahmins. It is almost agreed that they are more recent immigrants to this part of the country than the Bengaal Brahmins are more influential in every walk of life than the Tirhuti kanouji Brahmins whose importance is maintained by their holding lands and tenures. In intellectual callings the Bengali Brahmins predominate and it is more often than not that the intellectual leader of the village community is the Bengali Brahmin rather than the kanouji or Tirhuti Brahmin. As to the proportionate number no definite census is available but it may be ventured that they can be found almost in equal numbers.

KAYASTHAS AND RAJPUTS.

If we exclude those that have within the last 50 years migrated to this place, the exclusive class to be found amongst the kayasthas is the Bengli kayasthas who have become more or less indigencus to the soil As usual they are organized in the same fashion as the kayasthas of Bengal into kulin and Maulik groups. The first bear the titles Ghosh Bose and Mitra while all the rest such as sen, roy Dutta and most of others (72 in number) being used by those called Mauliks In recent years there has been a considerable migration of kayasthas from Biher but the local kayasthas may be said to hold their own against the migrants in influence. How long this will continue is very difficult to say. In villages the migrant kayasthas seem to have influence and except three or four well-to-do and well know houses not many are known. There are, however, many Bengal kayasthas who are well off in the village In the towns like Dhanbad the kayasthas who are off in the village In the towns like Dhanbad the kayasthas of both variety seem to have equal influence for most of those who live in towns are in connection with some profession or calling and are economically well off. It may be said that the Brahmins and kayasthas dominate the intellectual life of the district and have occupied the highest places and highest callings in the area. In the Behari kayastha group both the Ambasta and srivastava are to be found. The local Rajputs differ greatly in physique and habits from their brethren of other area. They were the Manbhum look and areb short and puny in stature and can be distinguished very easily from brethren of the north

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and west .They have not the sturdy physical frame or the resistant outlook of their northern and western brethren. An opinion may be hazarded but cannot be supported that many of the so called Rajputs are accession to the caste from the aboriginal fold . Most of the Rajputs are occupied in lands for the cultivation of which they employ labourers. They do not touch the plough themselves like their northern or western brethren. There is one trait common which is the great shortage of woman amongst the caste. This is probably due to the neglect and want of care for the Rajput females ,which was the characteristic of the entire caste in India . At one time this caste throughout India used to practice female infanticide en masse and females after birth were exposed to inclement weather or allowed to die by starvation or some such means. The result has been a great shortage of women. Through infanticite has practically been stopped, at present the local Rajputs find it difficult to procure a wife amongst their caste and have to pay heavily for it . He has of necessity take is a woman of other caste with the result that what is now Rajput caste here is a somewhat hybrid of aboriginals with certain percentage of real Rajput blood in him. This, of course, cannot be applied to all of them.

KULUS

The other caste of higher Hindu order are mostly of occupational types such as Kulu, whose general occupation was oil pressing , Sumandal the wine sellers, Tanti, Kamar and Kumhar(potter). Each of these caste in this district is sub-divided into Maghaya and Bangla and mention may be made of a few only in this connection. Telis and the Kulu are divided into Maghaya Telis and Bengali Telis. The Maghaya branch is called Teli Mahato while the Bengali branch are Gorains. Teli Mahatos can be found throughout the subdivision but the Gorains are generally found at Givindapur, Nirsa and Chirkunda *thanas* and are not to be found in any great number elsewhere. The two sets do not generally inter-marry. The Maghaya ZTelis who seem to be more indigenous permit divorce and re-marriage of widows while Bengali Telis or Gorains consider themselves to be of higher order and do not permit this .In recent years there have been some inter-marriages between the two sets but generally Bengali Kulus who bear title of Gorain would not consent to marry into a family of Maghaya Teli who according to them have separate customs.

SUMANDAL.

The Sumandals who can be found throughout the district are again divided into two classes, the Bengali variety of ‘Suris’ and the local variety or Maghaya variety . The Bengali variety do not permit divorce or re-marriage of widows and consider them to be belonging to a higher group of caste which forbid this. The other two sets the Maghaya and Bhadreka allow divorce and re-marriage of their widows and differ materially on this aspect from Bengali Sumandals.

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At one time wine selling was one of their chief occupations but at present the grog shops being under strict control by the Government they have not got the monopoly and ceased to be an occupational caste. They have now taken mostly to cultivation and in some cases they earn their living as a day labourer.

In the case of Telis the Bengali variety has superiority over the Maghaya group who probably are more numerous than the Gorains. In Nirsa, Chirkunda and Baliapur thanas the Gorains have great influence and are big landholders or business men of considerable importance. They have a place of pride in the district which their less fortunate brethren the Maghayas do not enjoy. This is not so in the case of Sumandals who at the Bengali nor Maghaya nor Bhadreka variety has any predominance over the other.

GOALAS.

The Goalas similarly are divided into Bengali variety and Maghaya variety. The Maghaya one is similar to the Kishanaut and the Mangrant group of Goalas of eastern Magha. The Goalas of another variety called Ghasi mostly belong to the Bengal variety. It seems that there has been a considerable accession of aboriginal people into this caste. Some aboriginals like Santhals by reason of their tending cattle have forced themselves in this fold by marriage or by process of slow absorption. At one time cultivation and cattle tending seem to have been the general occupation. The touch of the aboriginal is found in the local Goalas by his reverence to spirit such as Kuaru and Baghoot which are distinctly aboriginal deities. In case of Goalas, however, no fowls are offered to the Baghoot a deity who is said to be a spirit protecting the cattle from the attack of tigers and wild beasts while the aboriginals would offer fowls to that deity. The Goalas will, however, offer only goats and often a she-goat as a sacrifice to this spirit. The workship of Kunar in the month of Asarh is regarded as indispensable by Kishanant Goalas in this area.

KAMAR.

So far as the Kamars are concerned there is a class who call themselves as Maghiya Kamars as opposed to Bangali Kamar. It must be remembered that caste in its origin seems to have had an occupational basis like guilds of medieval Europe. So long as the caste system retained its occupational character it was somewhat easy to admit into it any persons belonging to occupation of the category which was persured by the caste in question. Even when caste tended to go by birth belong to it. Maghiya kamar as distinguished from all other kamars seemed to have been a sect of this nature. At present they follow the creed of Hinduism and are not depressed

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but they still retain some traces of aboriginal religious system in their performance. As usual the Baghut is worshipped by this sect while those call themselves as Bengali Kamar do not adhere to it . 'Biswa Karma' of the Hindu pantheon is a special object of reverence amongst all.

BAISNAV OR GOSSAIN

Besides these characteristic occupational caste which seem in the present time to have lost the occupational basis owing to the disruption of the age old village system that was in force even for some time after the advent of the British there are other castes of a different nature . These caste have been formed by a peculiar process and are amalgamation of many caste following a particular tenet of Hindu religion. Thus the baishnabas who seemed in the earlier stages to have been drawn from all castes professing adherence of a particular religion formula crystallised into a caste in later times called the Jatbaishnab. In the Brahmins ,Kshatriya or Baisya community might have belonged the same set of religious ideas such as non-adherence to the caste rules, for the God who made them was one . This rule itself was so strictly enforced, the tenet so sedulously observed and non-observance was so promptly punished, that conversion of the whole sect professing the same religious ideas into a well formed caste by birth became only a question of time .It is in this way that the caste which we call Jatbaishnab or Gossain or Yugi seems to have sprung up and quite a number of them are to be found in this district. The Gossains are divided into four classes, all endogamous, namely ,Ramit, Krishnait, Madhya-achari and Krishna-achari. They all abatain from animal food and as a subsidiary profession they take disciples from the lower castes. The original conception of absence of 'no touchism' upon which the caste was based has been lost and at the present day none belonging to this caste would consent to touch rice cooked by any lower caste than themselves though they have no objection in taking food cooked by the Brahmins or the Kayasthas.

BABHANS.

We have also to consider another Indo-Aryan group in this connection who are comparatively recent migrants in this district, though by long habitation they have become indigenious to this district. They do not differ much in physical characteristics from their counterparts in North Bihar and have the same traits, the same attachment to land, and the same tenacity of purpose to retain lands in possession though by local influence all these characteristics have been greatly modified . The trait that is important, is that many of their customs have been modified by the compulsion of their surroundings. It would be sacrilege for a Babhan of North Bihar to cut even decent jokes with a grand-daughter on her love affairs with her husband. But like the Bengali grandfather the local Babhan

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would not scruple to do so provided the limit of decency is not crossed. The 'Ulu' during the marriage by the females which is common amongst the Bengali castes has also been adopted by these Babhans who undoubtedly have migrated from North-West. Ordinarily all the Babhans in the North and West would feed a bridegroom's party at least for three days during the performance of the marriage ceremony but the Babhans of this area generally adopt the Bengali custom of entertaining the bridegroom's party for a day and the distinction between the 'Kachchi' and 'Pakki' so punctiliously observed in North Bihar or elsewhere is not observed here. There are some other castes of occupational nature such as the Napit, Kumhar, Rajak. The only mentionable fact about them is that they follow more the Bengali pattern and in villages still stick more prominently to their occupation than their caste occupation but still they continue to be more attached to their caste progress than the other caste. The Rawani Kahars of the area has one distinction from the Bihar contingent. They do not like their brethren claim a Kshatriya status and agitate for being termed Chandra-Vansi Kshatriya. They are content only to drop the Kahar and call themselves Rewanis instead.

It may be mentioned that amongst the higher caste as detailed above there is still a certain rigidity and no touchism. In the villages a Brahmin would affect not to take food touched by the caste lower than the Brahmins. The Kayasthas similarly would not openly take food from any other caste except the Brahmins or Kayasthas. Some regard is still paid whether the caste is one whose touch does not pollute the water by the higher caste. But how the influence of caste system is gradually dwindling will be shown later.

As for the Muslims who form 12½ per cent of population of this district, very few can be said to have an indigenous character. Their large percentage (being 12½ per cent) is accounted for by migration into the district from outside, in the industrial area. They have no special features to distinguish them from the Muslims of other parts. The indigenous Muslims were very poor and except at Govindpur they had not even a mosque to their credit for a long time in the rural areas nor have they wielded any great influence in any locality. It is only in the towns like Dhanbad, Katras and Jharia that mosques have come to be built by influential Muslims who have settled here from outside. The local Muslims speak the Maghya dialogue and in many cases Bengali tongue while those who have come from outside have Urdu as their mother-tongue. The migrants outnumber the local population.

CHRISTIANS.

The Christians form an insignificant part in the people being only 4 per cent. A mission was established at Pokhuria in Tundi thana in the late nineteenth century and did some solid work

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for betterment and uplift of the aboriginals in the area. It has gained some converts from the aboriginal rank and wielded some influence in the area. The other Christians are concentrated in Dhanbad and Jharia being mostly foreigners, Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the Railway colony .A few of them are Indian Christians.

OTHERS.

For the last 50 years Dhanbad has gained in population by migration from outside. A great number of these migrants have adopted the district as their home but it can be safely said that they have not acquired as yet an indigenous character and retained their own characteristic of the district from which they have migrated. In the coalfield areas there is continual influx of population from Utter Pradesh and the districts of Hazaribagh, Gaya and Monghyr. Of all the districts in the North and Central Bihar who have sent out their population to this district Hazaribagh stands first.Gaya stands second having send out 34,226 and Monghyr a close 3rd having sent out 31,915. All these persons belong to various groups in their original homes and they need not be considered separately. Most of them concentrated themselves into the coalfield areas and it is not unoften that a batch of persons belonging to the same caste come to be allotted residence in the coalfields which go by the name of their caste. Thus we have the Pasi Dhowras indicating the Pasis were accommodated or Dusad Dhowras or Beldar Dhowras. The Beldars, it may ,however, be mentioned, though migrants from other districts and expert at earth cutting, have replaced the indigenous Koras, and have made the district their home. Near about Dhanbad quite a large number of them have setted for more than two to three generations. They are acquiring an indigenous character though they were not so in the beginning of the century.

The characteristics of the migrants who have come within a century need not be mentioned here. A great number of castes that are at present to be found and have been enumerated in the district in the last census are therefore omitted out of consideration. They have no special features and do not differ much from their counterparts of the districts from which they have migrated. No doubt in time they will begin to contribute greatly to the culture and progress of the district but it is not yet time to assess their contribution in moulding and shaping the local culture.

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONSHIP.

Marriage by Purchase.

It will be interesting to note the peculiar marriage custom prevalent in the district. The system of marriage and relationship between the sex is an important factor through which the culture of the people can be understood. As a rule marriages are by purchase. Either the bridegroom or the bride has to be paid for .It has to be

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noted that like all other parts of India marriage of the females is almost universal though it may sometimes happen that a male might remain unmarried. Even this is not a possibility for the eastern mind regards single living almost as a sin and Dhanbad is not an exception to the rule. It has been found that quite a large proportion of the population being more than 50 per cent of the Hindus belong to the Depressed Class, Scheduled Tribes or Scheduled castes. Of the 12 per cent of the Muslim again more than 80 per cent have very low status in the society and are day labourers or persons of small income groups. A close study reveals that the purchase of brides is more common in the local population than the purchase of the groom as have the economic affluence to maintain a wife without her having to work for the family. In a nutshell it can be formulated that wherever the question is to add to labour force of the family the bride has to be purchased but where the addition to the family means an additional encumbrance and the corresponding gain to a party to part with the girl the bridegroom has to be purchased. Thus even in lower classes where the usual rule is to purchase the bride, the bridegroom is sometimes purchased if he is found to be in affluent circumstances and in no necessity to add to the labour force in his family. Thus amongst the Sumandals, Ghatwals, Gossains, Malliks and all other lower caste the rule is that the bride should be paid for but even amongst them a bridegrooms particularly in affluence circumstances is paid for and dowry is given to him rather than to the bride. Amongst the Santhals there is a fixed bride price which may be either Rs. 3 , Rs. 6, or Rs. 9 in addition to something more which has to be paid to the bride but this rule is only observed in a formal way and an affluent Santhal bridegroom is run after by many prospective brides and their guardians. The same tendency is noticeable amongst the Mahatos who have to pay for the bride rather than the bridegroom.

Amongst the higher castes like Kayasthas, Brahmins and Baisyas the rule is quite the reverse. The female do not become helpful so far as income making is concerned, and are liabilities that way, and except for keeping the family their economic value as potential earning members is almost nil. The result is that an affluent home has to be purchased for the girl of those classes and the bridegroom price in the shape of dowry often ranges up to Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000. The minimum to be paid for a bridegroom is not fixed but it has never been known to have been less than Rs. 100 and that too if the social position of the bridegroom is insignificant.

Amongst the Babhans or Bhumihar who regard themselves as twice born class the main expenditure in the family is in marriage and Sradh. This is common to all the Babhans of Bihar Babhans of this district is not an exception to the rule .The Tilak in cases of daughter's marriage sometimes accounts for more than half the

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savings of the family and otherwise a thrifty Bhumihaar finds himself in an inconveniently tight corner if he has a number of daughters to give away in marriage. *

The earlier remarks might indicate that wherever the class is higher caste and is in affluent circumstances the bridegroom has to be purchased while the labouring class has to pay for the bride. There are, however exceptions to these rules. Amongst the Rajputs there is a paucity of females and the rule is to purchase the bride and no bridegroom price is usually paid. It is not unoften that a particularly good looking girl in Kayastha and Brahmin family is taken for no price and in a few cases the entire expenses of the marriage are borne by the bridegroom's party in consideration of the looks and family tradition of a suitable bride. Amongst the Maithili Brahmin the rule is to purchase the bride and a Maithil in this part like any other parts, has sometimes to wait till the end of his youth to amass enough money to purchase a bride.

Early Marriages and Age of Marriage.

Except amongst the higher caste where economic consideration has played a great part, pre-puberty marriage is the general rule. This involves two ceremonies, one a regular marriage and the other when the girl attains puberty and able to lead a sexual life and is taken home to her husband's place. Both the bride and the bridegroom are married at ages before puberty. On her attaining maturity an information is sent to the husband who then takes her away to live with his people. Ceremonies involving expenses have to be performed on both the occasions though the second ceremony is less important and is known as 'Raksati' or 'Dwiragaman'. Amongst the very lowest classes both adult and infant marriage are in vogue. But parties of higher rank than the very lowest such as Baishnabs, Gowalas, Kamars, Sumandals are generally married at an age before puberty. The Santhal and Kurmi generally married their girls after attainment of puberty but in recent times they have begun to marry their girls young probably under the idea that this is a more honourable, being followed by a large number of Hindu castes. It may be mentioned that the Sarda Act had little influence because of its ineffective provisions and amongst the classes who live by labour the general rule is to marry their daughters and sons much before the age of maturity. Child marriage was probably the invention of the higher caste Hindus who wanted to ensure the chastity of their girl and purity of their boys by marrying them before they had learnt anything about sexual secrets. But it was they who put in the Sarda Bill finding the baneful effects of the child marriage. The economic condition of the present age more than the Sarda Act has resulted in practical abolition of the child marriage amongst the

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higher castes. It is not possible to find a suitable groom of tender age who could be married to very young daughter of a family. As the age of the groom grown the brides have to wait for a long period, after they have attained maturity, till a suitable groom could be found for her. This has resulted in raising the age of the girl of higher castes and it is unthinkable at present moment that any one belonging to the higher caste would think of his daughter's marriage till she has attained the age of 14.

The lower caste, however, is free from this disability. The economic consideration which hampers the higher caste from marrying their daughters early is not present with the lower caste. At any rate all their boys and girls have to labour either in the fields or have to procure some occupation, with the result that it matters little whether the boy is well posted in his childhood or not. It becomes almost axiomatic that the boy will take to some kind of physical labour to earn his livelihood.

Endogamy and Exogamy.

Marriage in the tract is endogamous within the tribe or caste. Marriages generally take place within the tribe or the caste of which a man and woman belong. But in certain tribes and castes the rule of exogamy between the sub-caste is very strictly adhered. Thus the Santhals who are divided into 13 sub-septs each following a totem consider the totem as taboo and do not marry within the sub-sept. A Soren would not marry a Soren and must find out a bride from the other twelve sub-tribes. This is so also with the Mahatos. A Korebar Mahato must find a bride in any other sub-tribe than the Korebar. The marriage within the sub-sept is absolutely forbidden. This rule of exogamy in sub-tribes is not adhered to in cases of many other castes. The Singh Ghatwars though of an aboriginal origin would marry a Singh rather than a Roy Ghatwar. Nor is the rule of exogamy prevalent amongst the Bauri sub-tribes. The Millika have no sub-tribe and there is no rule of exogamy in them, except that a Mallik would not consent to take a wife from any other caste. As it has been pointed out earlier that many of the castes are divided in Maghaya and Bengali. The Turi, Dome, Kamar, Kumhar, and Teli and such other occupational castes are endogamous. The Maghaya variety generally do not intermarry with Bengali variety and intermarriage between these two endogamous groups takes place as exceptions and as a rule.

Amongst the higher castes like Brahmins and Kayasthas the rule is endogamy within the caste but exogamy so far as the Gotras and Goins are concerned. Thus it can be said that like the Santhals there is both exogamy and endogamy prevalent in these higher castes. Amongst the Muslims there is no fixed rule of exogamy or endogamy. The only prohibition being that a Muslim must marry a Kitabia or a person following a religion which is based on a revealed book. This forbids marriage with a Hindu or any other

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aboriginal tribe. But the Muslim can without impunity perform a marriage with any other person who converts himself or herself into a Muslim. No rule of exogamy or endogamy prevent any person on the earth provide he or she takes to a religion based on a revealed book. In practice, a however, a Muslim marries a Muslim subject to only such rules of prohibited degrees as are enjoined by the Mahammadan laws.

Polygamy and Hyper gamy.

Polygamy was permitted in law to all kinds of people in this area but in practice except by the most affluent classes like the zamindars and big landholders polygamy is seldom restored to. It has been restored to by less wealthy classes in case the wife proves barren. At one time amongst the Brahmins the system of 'Kulinism' Brahmins regarded as having been of high birth was sought after by a number of girls. For the rule was that to preserve one's own status in society the girls of a good family will have to be married to a Naikashya Kulin or a person belonging to a higher status. The result was that there was a great rush for for a single groom of this type and the groom had simply to oblige the father-in-law by performing a sort of ceremonial marriage though he might almost be incapable of performing the duties of the marriage in the true sense. The kula of girl was thus maintained. Marriage was made a lucrative profession, but this practice has fallen into disuse and is no longer in vogue. This kind of hypergamy marriage which resulted in polygamous marriages of no consequence, is not to be found in this area at present. It has practically disappeared from the province of its origin. The present Kulinism of Bengal is confined to this only, that there is a restriction of giving the girl of a Kulin Brahmin, to any but a Kulin while there is no restriction for the Brahmin bridegroom to marry any any other than the Kulin. A Kulin Brahmin can take as wife from any other Brahmin provided he is not of his own gotra. But in case of the daughters, a person of higher status has to be sought out if the daughter's father wants to maintain his own status. Even so this rule has considerably been relaxed and no such fastidiousness at the present day is shown provided the economic affluence of bridegroom is assured.

Amongst the Kulin Kayasthas the restriction is quite otherwise. The eldest son of Kulin Kayasthan has to marry a Kulin if the purity of kula of the family has to be maintained. This restriction is not placed on the younger sons of the family. The eldest son of either Ghosh, Bose or Mitra is thus placed at disadvantage. The eldest son Mitra has to marry a Bose, or Goshe girl. This rule is now observed more in branch even in this conservative locality. The Brahmins, however, tries to stick to the old principles in the locality with more tenacity than the Kayasthas of area.

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Polyandry

No instance of polyandry as such is to be found in this area it was prevalent in some parts of India till but gradually it become extinct. Polyandry is district result of matriarchy. It is natural when descent is a traced through the mother and property devolve throught relationship, that the females will have a prominence in the family. It is they who look to husband and often as many husband as it would suit their choice to take. In earliest stage of society which seem to have been Matriarchal, naturally the right to property development thought the females who formed the center of the family and usually the rule seems to have been for males to visit the females in her own apartment. The father of a particular son bron to any woman could not be determined in such society. From this state of free sexual relationship emerged the institution of polyandry in which the father belonged to the family and the father ship of the children came to be determined with the groeth of more crystalised from of sexual relationship. It come to be like this that one single woman began to be claimed by group of persons as their common wife who shared her between themselves. In many parts of India this custom was prevalent and probably is still in existence in Tehrigarawal area of Himachal Pradesh and in some places near Tibet.

Polyandry is still prevalent in some part of northern India. A number of brothers share between themselves one wife, the eldest of them having a little privilege. If any one of the brothers wants to set up a family of this own he takes a second girls as his wife but in such cases it remains open to the brothers younger to him to remain whith the eldest or to go along the one who takes in another girl. This kind of polyandry is not found in this tract amongst any of the tribes. But Santhals have amongst them a custome the use of person of this elder brother's wife, provides it is not too open. In case such liaison is know it is forgiven as bsing only natural. This right of the debar on the elder brother's wife is reminiscent of fraternal polyandry. In her the wife may younger sister and allow the enjoyment of her person by her husband. If pregnancy result a marriage is performed and no social stigma attaches to such liaison. This practice is also reminiscent of community from of marriage in which one whole set of girls of community is married to the whole set of another.

Levirate

Levirate or raising the seed thought another person then the husband because of some incapacity has become outmoded. It was recognize by the ancient Hindu, scriptures but man or woman taking to this device of the higher offsprings to themselves will be looked down upon in the society both in the higher and the lower castes. During close enquiry none of our informants belonging

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to several castes could be made to admit that such a practice amongst them exist though necessity of having an offspring who would perform their *sradh* or the religions for the uplift of the departed soul was considered to be imperative not only amongst the Hindu castes but also by the aboriginals.

Except among the Muslims the rule is to place all near relatives to a prohibited degree. Neither the tribals nor any of the Hindu casts tolerate the marriage between the cousins in this area. The Malliks who are considered to be vary low cast consider their cousins to be within the prohibited degree but in case of Malliks the rule is rigid so far as the first cousins are concerned. The distant cousins intermarry but care is taken to see that the relationship is sufficiently distant. In some parts of India cross cousins marriages are permitted amongst the Hindus and even marriages between maternal uncle and niece is not ruled out, but such relationship cannot be thought of even amongst these tribals in the area what to speak of the Hindus. Cousins marriages are prevalent, however amongst the Muslims as it is throughout India and throughout the Muslim world. One would think that opposite sex would not be ruled out amongst the Santhals for they necessarily would belongs two different 'Paris' but the Santhal also prohibit such marriage.

communication

Amongst the tribals like the Santhal who are habitually not incontinent in sex matters premarital communism prevails. It would not be much of crime to have a sexual intercourse with an unmarried girls and if pregnancy result by such intercourse, the putative father is found out and the girl is married to him. It is not uneaten that in festivals like soharai and saehul boys and girls freely mix with each other and come to have liaison which in other castes and tribes may be considered to be illicit. The Santhal do not recognize any such conduct as illicit it being accepted that if pregnancy result from conduct the putative father will accept the prospective mother as his bride. This protects the Santhal woman from being thrown out of caste punish by ostracism. As stated above the prohibition observed amongst the Santhal is that a sexual relationship should not take place between a girl and a boy of the same sub-tribe or family, for occurrence takes place the Santhal tries to find out a means by which to retain the girl their fold. If an incest of the nature has occurred and the putative father be detected to be one of a different sept is found out by the Manjhi the guardian of the morals. A fine which may be considered to be heavy is levied upon the putative father. He has to pay a bullock, some grains to the person willing to take the

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prospective mother as wife. Some lands are also made to be given in compensation to the young man upon which regular 'Bapla' or marriage is performed between the two and the child is legitimized. The various forms of marriage prevalent amongst the Santhal indicate their healthy outlook on sexual relationship. If a girl is desirous of a groom she might just enter into his house with an intention to live with him. In such cases the boy's relatives or the boy may not like the girl to be in his house but courtesy requires that no force should be used to turn her out of any relatives living with the groom will put some dry chillies in fire and create hot smokes in the room for several days where the girl takes up her abode. If she can remain within it in spite of this for more than three days her right to be in the family is accepted. This is what is known 'Nir-bolok' (bolok means means to enter) form of marriage which is as valid as the other forms prevalent amongst the Santhals. A young man similarly can have a girl of his own choice by smearing her forehead with vermilion in an open place in the *bazar*, and then running away followed and chased by the relatives of the bride. In such case what happens is that the bride's party approach the relatives a goat or a sheep for feasting and it is not uncommon that the bridegroom has stand server thrashing and fight it out with the bride's party. Whatever that may be, the mere act of putting the vermilion creates a relationship and unless a divorce is made the girl cannot marry elsewhere. The regular marriages or Bapla is then performed according to all ceremonials. One of the girl with deformities is to purchase the bridegroom of the general rule is to purchase the bride. In some case the *ghardi* Jawain form of marriage is restored to by which the son-in-law comes to live with his father-in-law because he has no male issue to whom the properties could devolve and it must be remembered that according to the Santhal tribal custom the females have no right to inherit. It will be seen from the above account that the Santhals practically eliminate illegitimacy from their tribe but they are too solicitous of their women honor when *Dikus* or non-Santhals are concerned. It will be sacrilege for a Santhal girl to run away with any one who is not a Santhal and in such cases she is socially ostracized and turned out of the Santhal fold. There have often been cases in the Santhal parganas though not in district where the 'Bitlaha' or Santhal form of ostracism is taken resort to. * The entire family of the Santhal from which a girl has run away with a foreigner is ostracized violently. The rule in the pargana is to notify the intention to perform Bitlaha over a particular person before a Magistrate and a Magistrate is usually deputed to see that rowdyism committed during the procedure does not cross the limits prescribed by laws. Usually the whole conclave of Santhal turn up, break

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down the utensils, and smear the entire house with night-soil and cowdung. The inmates who are given previous information are usually out and though this act may be performed for any other default is mostly done where a Santhal girl has run away with man of other tribes or castes. In this part this form of ostracism for crimes of this nature is becoming extinct and even the Santhals seem to have lost something of their solicitousness for their women kind.

After a Santhal has been married they lead a chaste life and are generally attached to their spouse. The child marriages are becoming extinct which prevents the prevalence of premarital communism as stated above.

The other classes which seem to practise a sort of communism after marriage though not openly and by legal sanction are the Bauris, Malliks and Mahulis.

Both the Bauris and the Mallik women are lax in their sexual habits and Bauri women most frequently live in unashamed concubinage without incurring any social odium from the caste. In some cases the paramour may be a non-Bauri or a non-Mallik. The children who are the results of such liaison cannot be regarded as legitimate. Nevertheless no social stigma for the illegitimacy attaches to them, it being almost accepted by the whole caste or tribe that such things are only common in the caste. Bauri women often decoy other persons belonging to other castes and who have been ostracised for taking food cooked by their mistresses, into their own castes. The problem of illegitimacy which is solved by the Santhal by a different way indicated above does not exist in any acute form amongst this lower caste, it being practically accepted by the caste that being an illegitimate son is of no social importance. Amongst the higher castes of the sudra group such laxity in the sexual morals more or less is absent and cases of laxity if disclosed are punished by ostracism of the girl though the male escapes, and illegitimacy presents a great problem. Secrecy in the illicit liaison is, therefore, the rule amongst these classes. The degree of it may vary according to the status which this caste occupies in the Hindu ladder. Amongst the very highest classes like the Brahmins, and the Kayasthas the rule is extremely rigid while as we get down lower and lower it gets gradually relaxed till amongst the Bauries and Malliks both premarital and post-marital communism of a de facto nature is allowed to prevail.

Divorce.

Amongst the Hindus marriage is a sacrament and the very highest classes regard the person of the wife and the husband to be one and united after the marriages, so that even after the death of the husband the widow continues to represent the half of her husband. It was on this theory that the widow's estate was possessed by her till the recent amendment of the Hindu law. The spirit continues and amongst the higher classes the sacramental tie created

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through the marriages could not be snapped by a divorce. Divorce is not therefore, prevalent amongst the higher classes. Amongst the sudras, however, some of the occupational castes whose touch does not pollute water allow divorce. Thus the Maghaya Teli, Maghaya Kamar, maghaya Kumhar, kishnat, Maghait, Goalas, Maghaya Sumandal, Beldars and Rawanis and such other typical classes permit divorce. The Bengal variety of Sumandal, Kamar or Kumhar or even the Goalas prohibit it. Even the Bhuiyans who are of distinct aboriginal origin when they have raised themselves to the status of Ghatwars and have donned the sacred thread prohibit divorce while Bhuiyans still allow divorce. It will be plain that there is a tendency do not consider it enough respectable to allow the spouse to be divorced. Absence of prevalence of divorce is regarded as a sign of purity of the caste and there is a tendency towards the abrogation of this social custom, even at a period when amongst the very highest classes there is a tendency towards permitting it is case the marriage proves a failure. Thus while there is in the upper strata of the society an attempt is being made to mitigate the hardship of the sacramental marriage enjoining a perpetual companionship with an undesirable person, in the lower strata there is a tendency of discarding the privilege that was already available to it. Amongst the tribals the Kurmi Mahato permits divorce and it is done by a simple ceremony before the Mahato and the village men. The santhals announce their divorce by tearing sal leaf before the Manjhis and some persons of the village. The turis and the Doms have the simple ceremony of dropping down some vermilion on the ground which the bride and the bridegroom picks up. That indicates the dissolution of the marriage before a few of the caste men. In some cases like the Teli Mahato, documents are drawn up. Amongst the Muslims divorce is also prevalent but in such cases the traditional Muslim rules have to be followed. As a rule the right to divorce where it is prevalent belongs to the husband. The female is neither known amongst the Hindus nor amongst the Muslims to exercise this right. By law the Muslim female has no right to divorce till she is permitted to do so by her husband, but in cases of tribal or Hindus where divorce is permitted there seems to be no written law prohibiting the female, but as a matter of custom the right to divorce seems to belong to the husband. The wife may signify the intention to divorce by running away from the husband but the actual breaking of marriage tie has to be done by the husband. A lot of difficulty can be created if the husband is unwilling to give up the wife and in case of lower caste Hindus, cases come up very frequently where the husband wants back his wife and the defence is put up that the husband has already divorced the wife. It is not unoften that some unscrupulous father would try to dissolve the marriage already performed and give his daughter in marriage with some other person in lieu of some money, and such allegations are very frequently made in made in Court cases. In the case of

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divorce cases where purchase of bride is prevalent, the bride price has sometimes to be returned, where the divorce has resulted out of recalcitrants of the wife and her unwillingness to live with the husband. But in most cases it is the husband who divorces and the question of paying back the bride price to the groom does not arise. In some such cases a written document is given to the effect that nothing is due from the bride and all the ornaments given to the bride by the husband have been taken back. In some cases, however, where the husband is unwilling to give up the wife a claim is made even in courts for return of the ornaments and the bride price and all that had paid been to the bride as dowry.

Re-marriage of Females.

Re-marriages after divorce is permitted by all castes and tribes which permit divorce, and in such cases marriage is performed in *sanga* from which certainly has a less respect like that of the ordinary *biha* or *Baple* as the santhals call it. It goes without saying that in the caste which permit re-marriages and divorce, widow re-marriage is in vogue. Thus all the lower classes shown above and the depressed ones, the Santhals and the Muslims and also the Christians permit widow re-marriage. Amongst the Santhals, however, there is superstition that the deceased husband retains a hold over the wife and may wreak a vengeance on the newly married one. In such cases what happens is that the boy is married first to a *Mahua* tree and then regular *sanga* is performed, with the widow girl.

The Roy and Singh Ghatwars do not permit their widows to remarry nor does the Bengal variety of Sumandal Kulus, Kumhars and Goalas permit it. The Maghaya variety of these castes permits divorce and widow re-marriage. It goes without saying that upon the sacramental theory the widow re-marriage in spite of legislation continues to be a taboo and idea of sacrament still continues in spite of hardship wrought by the prohibition. The higher castes still cling to it and do not allow re-marriage after the death of their first husband. Elsewhere in the bordering districts the prejudices are gradually giving way but in this part in spite of heavy industrialisation the so-called higher castes still cling to the old ideas and not many widow re-marriages are heard of even in recent times.

THE MIND OF THE DISTRICT AND IMPACT OF MODERN AGE ON THE PEOPLE- MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

There is a theory that in India there are many races. Mr. Risely is of the opinion that people can be classed according to measurements into pure Dravidian, Mongolian and Indo-Aryan groups. If we keep the Indo-Aryan group at one end and the Dravidian and Mongolian on the other many will be found who have sprung from inter-mixture. Thus one approximating the Dravidian in look and measurement has lesser amount of Indo-Aryan blood and more of the Dravidians than others in whom the reverse may be the case.

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This theory which was solely based on the anthropometry was later discountenanced as the result of the measurements which were never very accurate.

Another theory is that there is only one race in India created by mixture of races and influenced by the similar kind of climate and local environments. Both seem to have some validity. The local influence theory may be given a little more prominence than Risley's cut and dried race theory. Local environment creates a sameness of mental outlook and this is true in Dhanbad. The features also begin to wear the look of a particular locality though the variations continue. There is a certain kind of rugged look worn by the indigenous inhabitants of this district which distinguishes them from those of the other. A Brahmin may have some what sharp features and be fairer in complexion than a Mahato or a Santhal but the shrugged Dhanbad look cannot be missed in both of them. This is due to the local influence and environments and the climatic condition. There is also a similarity in outlook. A certain amount of backwardness ensues in spite of progress made in modern time.

Any one strolling by the countryside or even on a secluded road of a town like Dhanbad may witness vast undulating fields almost melting away into the horizon, lit by the morose sunlight cast throughout the tract, sometimes deepening into the shades of a mysterious nature in the low lying ravines. This half shadow and half light are not only the mystery of physical nature are many a back waters in the mind which one seems to understand, yet not perfectly. This is why a non-inhabitant of the district finds it difficult to get a contact and is exasperated by the truancy of the local mind and interprets it as an unwillingness to co-operate or to work together.

The fact is that nature is rather unkind, sombre and even beautiful in some way. The wavy fields fringed with hillocks, often dreary, and unyielding to the point of exasperation, lures and beacons a man out of routined life into a life of truancy. The distant hills fringed with jungle at its foot, the blue horizon not only creates a lust for freedom from the routine but veritably beacons away a man to an indolent loitering without any purpose. This mentality is innate in the aboriginal and strong element of the aboriginal in the population has diffused this mentality amongst all the classes. There is therefore, a certain lack of speed and even an apathy in perusing material progress, but a great deal of poetry which if does not follow that the mentality cannot be worked up to higher purposes. It is only a leader who understands and is acquainted with all the back waters, the mysterious shades in the Manbhum or Dhanbad mentality who could work up a fervor in the people for

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progress. That is what the Manbhum mind in the district is, it continues to be the same in spite of severance from the parent district and will continue and no mistake about it should be made.

The cultural aspect of the village life can be ascertained from the festivities that are observed in the locality. Though there are Maghaya and Bengal variety of all higher Hindu castes, The influence of the Holi festival is much less felt and Durga Puja is the main Hindu festival even amongst those who call themselves Maghaya. This is the one occasion in the year which is looked upon expectantly more than the Holi which elsewhere in the west had a greater prominence than the Durga Puja. But even in the performance of Durga Puja certain elements of the childishness is more prominent in this district than in other districts of Bengal where Durga Puja is probably the main festival, equal to none in the year. The use of crackers is so copious that a boy or a man from any other part of India or Bengal will be surprised at the great noise created by the crackers during this Puja rather than in the Dewali. This is peculiar to Dhanbad and manbhum and not to be found in any other districts of Bengal and Bihar.

Besides Durga Puja the other main Hindu festival to be observed in the villages are the Bhakta parab in the end of a year and the beginning of the new. This is mainly a worship of the 'Shiva and almost all the villagers join in it. In some places hook swinging is resorted mostly by those who do not profess Hinduism but is pledged to swing in order to propitiate the deity or for some material gain. It has been made humane in recent times. The swings do not insert the hook in the shin of their back but tie down a band around the waist or the back and the hook is inserted on that.

In the month of Bhadra when sowing has been done or nearing Completion, oblation is offered to India the presiding God of rains. Villagers collect subscription and set an umbrella near about the fields. Dancing and merrymaking go on. Prasad is distributed. A Brahmin usually officiates as the priest in these festivities. It is distinctly a Hindu festival and has no aboriginal touch in it though the aboriginal partake in it with equal zest as the Hindus.

The Mansa is worshipped near about the same time. Mansa is a contribution to the Hindu Pantheon by the Bauris and Bagdis. Though essentially a festivity of this class yet higher caste Hindus participate and it is usual for even a high caste Brahmin to contribute liberally towards this festival. The goddess Mansa is worshipped in some case by Brahmin priest but where such priest is not available the Bauris themselves perform the *Pujas*.

In Kartik, *Dewali* and *Kalipuja* are observed by all the Hindus and later in the winter the Santhals observe Sohrai which is very much akin to Dewali with the exception that a Santhal makes it a point to take Pitha (rice cake) on the occasion. They do not worship

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the goddess Kali on the occasion as the Hindus. There is much drinking amongst them in *sohrai parab* and the Santhal Dewali may not correspond to the Hindu *Dewali* at all times. On the last day of the month of *Pous* a dip in a river is taken and feasting goes on. The festivity is known locally as *pithaparab* and differs from the Til-Sankranti in many respects. Til-Sankranti is observed throughout this state but differently. The usual custom is to take Khichri or Chura and Dahi gained from the harvest. In Bengal as in this part, preparation of *pitha* or cakes and sweets of various kinds is the main feature of this festival. The idea is to be jubilant on the fact that the crops have been harvested and affluence has been gained for a few months. It is noteworthy that even those who call themselves the Maghaya variety of a caste follow this Bengal way of observing the *Sankranti* rather than the Bihari way of observing it. The Holi or Dol is a short festival and does not extend more than two days whereas in other parts of Bihar it is probably the main festival which extends over four to five days even after which the festivities do not seem to abate. As usual all over India coloured water is used but the use of mud, dirt and filth which is common in certain parts of India is not to be found in this district.

We have then the *Basanti puja* which is performed in many affluent villages in the district, at some places by wealthy persons in the village and at other by subscription raised by the villagers. Though *Ramnavami* fast is undertaken by many it has not the same implication as it has in Bihar. The *Ramnavami* processions which have become a common feature in every district of Bihar nowadays are not to be found in this district except in towns like Dhanbad and Jharia where the Bihari elements are strong. Instead *Basanti puja* is gone through on all the four days almost as the *Durga Puja*, though with much less grandeur. Besides this Hindu festival there are others which cannot be said to be strictly Hindu. Thus Bhadu is worshipped by the Bauris. The tradition says that Bhadu was the daughter of the Panchet Raj who died as maid for the good of the tenantry. She came to be idolised and later worshipped especially by the Bagdis and the Bauris. An image of the deceased daughter sometime of a huge size is made and offerings are put up to her.

In villages there is one Sima Puja or offering made to Rangahari deity even by the Hindu villagers. A fowl is procured by the subscription from the villagers and is sacrificed to the *Rangahari* in the boundary of the two villages. This is said to save the village from the attacks of malevolent spirits. The worship of *Bhut* or spirit is resorted to not only by the aboriginals but by low caste Hindus and even Goalas. Thus *Baghat* is worshipped by the Bauris and all other low caste Hindus. For the local Goalas it is important to make offerings to it in order to protect their cattle from the depredation of the wild beasts. In all these non-Hindu offerings the *Laya* has the prominence and this *Laya* may be of any caste either Mallik, Bauri or even a Turi.

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So far as amusements are concerned cock fight is one of the principal amusements to all villagers who keep cock. Fighting cocks are armed with steel nails or even a blade of knife tied to their feet. This results in death or severe injuries to one of the cocks and the owner of the victor takes away the vanquished cock.

Haribole or Sankirtan is commonly in all the villages at any period of the year by subscription. The *Jatra* is another amusement mostly performed by the local talentry. The institution of Nachanias or female dancers who are concubines of others and perform nautch in the village is also common. Often there is a quarrel over the possession of a nachania who changes her paramour too frequently and amongst the Rajputs murders are known to have occurred over the possession of a particular nachania.

From the above accounts it is clear large element of aboriginal custom has crept into a village life. Many of the offerings and *Pujas* have strong aboriginal elements in them. The aboriginal practice of worship of spirit has been infused into Hindu castes and this was largely due to the fact that some of the Hindu castes have enriched their fold by surreptitious absorption of aboriginal by marriage. The worship of *Baghat* amongst the Goalas can be accounted for on some such hypothesis.

The impact of modern civilization on this kind of outlook has produced curious results. The first casualty of modernization is probably the caste system in some aspect. Though the Brahmin in his village tries to adhere to the caste rule and no-touchism and affects an air of superiority he no longer feels the same distinction, nor does he observe with same strictness the rules laid down by the orthodoxy of his caste. It is not uncommon to hear from Brahmin coming into work as a cook that it is impossible to maintain that rigidity in the modern set up. A man coming in from village for litigation would not scruple to dine in a hotel by the side of a man whose caste he does not care to enquire. In such cases his touch does not pollute his food. Much of the edge of his scruple is thus blunted and when he has goes to the village after several journeys from the town he has lost faith in the essential utility of no-touchism. He can no longer adhere to it with the same strictness, and as many members of the same family come out they imbibe the same, till the principle of no-touchism in the caste begins to lose its hold on the community. It will thus appear that so far as the cule of commensality is concerned it has given way not only amongst the higher castes but also amongst the lower ones. The Santhals who were intensely proud of their own caste and would not take food from any other, has in the modern set up also been feeling difficulty and does not care so much from which person he takes his food. In regard to connubium castes is not a frequent occurrence in this district. Both the lower and the higher castes are anxious to preserve their

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distinction in this respect and inter-caste marriages have not come to be looked with any great favour. This is how Dhanbad mind works. While there is progress and light on the one side so far as commensality is concerned, no progress has been made so far as of connubium is concerned. It can be said that the whole of India is still backward in this respect but the degree of backwardness here is grater and no progress seems to have been made in this direction. Even in the cosmopolitan towns like Dhanbad inter-caste marriages will not be looked with the same as favour as it might be looked upon in any other town in Bihar or Bengal.

The impact of the modern age on the social system of the aboriginals like the Santhals has great. It is seen that the Santhal had a complete social system which provided for settlement of all kinds of disputes arising between a Santhal and a non-Santhal. Maintenance of this system was, however, possible if the Santhals were segregated into one place and allowed to follow their own life without intervention of outside agencies. This has not been possible here in this district though attempts have been made in the Santhal Parganas by the Government itself to preserve the Santhal institution. A Santhal is forced to live or to mix with the Hindu neighbour who would not readily submit to the rules of their tribe. If therefore, a dispute arises between him and a non-Santhal he has of necessity to come to Court to settle that dispute. A tribal *panchayat* of the Santhal cannot effectively determine such dispute nor can the misbehavior of a Santhal towards Hindu or *vice versa* can be treated effectively by a Santhal panchayat. Thus even in a village where the Santhals have a prominence the influence of Manjhi or Jogmanjhi has considerably dwindled. Together with their secular influence upon which only the spiritual and moral things could be based, there is considerable slackening of the moral hold and the present day Santhal of the locality has not the same reverence for his own institution as the traditional Santhal had. This is good in some way because it clears the path for progress as it has done for the Mahatos but is bad in other. There is always, danger in another way. For example in this part the tendency is to get hinduised and when there is such hinduisation, the result had been to get a depressed status and sink into the lowest rung of the Hindu ladder. Thus the Bauris, Malliks, Mahulis and others cut off from their at all while the Mahatos who have retained the vastiges of aboriginal institutions in their society have a place of pride and are trying to upgrade them selves, by continually giving up such practices as are found to be harmful. The Santhal have not lost the sense of dignity and the one reason for it is that the institution in whatever mutilated from, it may have been maintained amongst them and they are institutions may result in a depression akin to the Bauris or Malliks. This has to be prevented at any cost.

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The influence of the modern political set is of a dubious character. Intensely proud of his own caste the reception of the privileges given to the Mahato as a backward class has not yet resulted in any tendency towards actual depression or making themselves backward. The Mahato is astute enough to reap the full advantages of the privileges extended to him as backward class, and loudly proclaim that such privileges should be there in the Constitution. They do not, however, forego their claim to Ksatriyaship. This somewhat contradictory attitude has resulted in intense caste sense, and if casteism has been introduced amongst any people here it is amongst Mahatos. They feel a class by themselves and much political exploitation is done by playing upon this sense. The Santhals similarly have been awakened to a 'Jharkhand' spirit creating a somewhat difficult problem in local politics. The other castes excepting probably the Bhumihars do not suffer from the same separatism as in Bihar. Excepting amongst these two or three groups casteism is no problem in this district. The virus that has eaten into the soul of Bihar has been somewhat successfully kept away so far political alignments are concerned. Most castes follow the Bengal pattern, rather than the pattern of the North Bihar.

It has already been discussed that Manbhum and Dhanbad mind has something archaic in it and still looks to the old days of the Rajas and Maharajas, though their scepters and crowns have tumbled down by one stroke of pen. The State Government has relieved them of all their magnificent possession. Thus though the zamindars are no longer there the grandeur of the feudal institution with all their paraphernalia seems to have still a hold in the popular mind. The zamindar was an object of veneration. Even at present age he continues to be so, though he no longer holds the same states, power or capacity to influence his subjects. This is so because the relationship between the landlord and tenant has never been very strained nor was there any proper *Kisan* movement in the area. The feudal system to lost their holds on popular mind requires an intense agitation which must precede its abolition. There has been none whatsoever here. There might be an occasional quarrel between the tenant and the landlord throughout the long history of this district but never a serious quarrel which could have the status of a *Kisan* agitation. Such quarrels were against a particular act of a particular zamindar but not against the entire institution. The archaic people need a symbol of power and pomp to do reverence too. It will be for the administration of the State to take note of this fact and if anything better than the feudal system has not been substituted the result will not be happy. At least the subjects and the Government will remain estranged from each other. The very personal contact (with its attendant emotional content) that the local zamindars used to have with their tenants (absentee landlordism was not a characteristic of this district) has to be substituted by some thing more beneficial to the tenant and the benefits

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must be direct to make the tenant to give up his feudal habits of thinking. This appears to be the most difficult task which the present administration is called upon to undertake. No mistakes should be made in this direction.

The strong feudal affiliation has been amply demonstrated during the counting in 1952 General Election. The local zamindars had stood as candidate for the Assembly seats and almost all the village area votes had been polled by them. This phenomenon was largely due to the fact that the feudal influence still continued in the popular mind. The body corporate like the Government which cannot set up a person to capture the popular imagination has no emotional appeal and people do not enthuse over the fact that they have been relieved of their zamindars. It is only through the labour area votes where people throng from outside that most of the Congress candidates were successful. In other areas the local zamindars had influence and polled more votes. This should be an eye opener and the people should be made to feel the direct good results of the abolition of zamindari.

Excepting the industrial areas crime propensities seem to be less pronounced and even when a crime is committed in the villages, it is of a less starting kind. Deco ties are few compared to other districts of Bihar. It is only in the industrial areas that such crimes are committed by people who are mostly outsiders. Murders generally have no plans from before and show the aboriginal tendency and are done on the spur of moment with no premeditation, and when the accused is caught he has neither the ingenuity nor the purse to spin out an intricate deface and quietly gets hanged. This shows that in spite of heavy industrialization the archaic simplicity is retained to some extent.

Such is the Kind of people who inhabit this area. With all their backwardness and their follies their aversion to work for their own welfare and their acceptance of life with an indifference for future may prove exasperating to a social reformer from outside, but they rouse an interest in those who have a real contact with this half childish and mysterious mind full of strange and prejudices and beliefs. A closer contact with them, an intelligent understanding of their problem and their capacities will rouse them from the backwardness. What is required is more sympathy and less aversion and till the writing of this monograph such intelligent understanding of the population does not seem to have been shown.

The people of Dhanbad district may roughly be divided into five groups. They are as follows: (a) The first group consists of the primitive races and tribes that settled down in this area before the Buddhistic period or even earlier. Santhals, Kols, Mahulis are

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their descendants. (b) The second group comprises those people who are the offspring's of those that migrated here to settle down when Buddhism and Jainism flourished and spread widely in India or during the days of the later Hindu Kings of Magadh with their capitals at Rajgriha and Pataliputra. (c) The third group consists of the people whose ancestors and forefathers migrated in gradual process covering some centuries to this part of the land mostly to evade religious persecution of the fanatical Muslim rulers and their officials during the Muslim occupation of Bihar and Modern Uttar Pradesh. (d) The fourth group is composed of the people who owe their origin to those that came here in search of jobs and suitable situations under the Britishers when English East India Company or British Government had effected early occupation of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and other north-western provinces of India. At first they settled down in provincial, district and sub divisional headquarters and later they managed to acquire holdings in rural areas where they built farm houses and stationed their relations to look after the farming and other acquired properties there. The descendants of these people gradually got distributed in a number of villages lying in the eastern border of Dhanbad. (e) The fifth group comprises the people that came here in swarm from the outlying neighbouring provinces to try their fortune after the finds of rich deposits of coal in this area. Marwaris, Gujratis, Punjabis, Sindhis, Bengalis, etc., have come to Dhanbad to try their fortune as leaseholders, merchants or proprietors of collieries. They migrate from place to place to follow their avocation according to the suitability of place and time. Usually they have permanent house in the urban areas; but they hardly cut off their connection with their native place lying in distant province of India. Very often they go back to their native places especially on occasions of marriages of their children or at time when they wind up their business hear. Along with them and for the proper working of the colliers there have come a large number of technical men, mining engineers, miners and other. Labour class population of the coalfield also belongs to this group. The people of this group may be described as the floating population of the coalfields.

The refugees from Pakistan both East and West from another group of people. In the wake of the disturbances caused due to Mr. Jinnah's 'Direct action' and partition of the country resulting in the creation of Pakistan, many people lost their hearth and home and migrated to India. Some of them have come here also and have settled down mostly in urban areas. They have now been completely absorbed in the civil population and generally follow professions or business.

Dhanbad district has now become an intellectual center and a number of higher-ranking institution have been located here either by Bihar State or the Center. The Mining Institute, the Fuel

Research Institute, the Polytechnic Institute, the Central schools and collages, the fertilizer and Cement Factories, the large number of Railway stations, the Arts and Science Collages and schools for boys and girls, the Mining Inspectorate, the Health Inspectorate, the Coal Mines Welfare Fund office, the Employment Insurance office, etc., have naturally brought in a large number of highly educated persons at various levels. It is true that their total may not be a big percentage of the urban population but nevertheless they will form an important element in the population structure of the district. This element is, however, more confined to the urban areas, which could be described as the Greater Dhanbad.

Now the special characteristics and peculiarities with regard to the custom, manners, cultures, dialects and languages of each community are described hereunder in brief*:-

Group (a) consists of the tribes and races of the Santhals, Kols, Mahulis, Bhumij, etc.

Santhals or *Manjhis* are found in the hilly woodland areas of Tundi, Katras, Nawagarh, Jharia, Jainagar (Govindpur) and Pandra parganas. Of all the primitive tribes, santhals are in the highest majority. They are well distributed in Tundi *pargana* and north-western parts of Katras and Nawagarh *parganas*. They are also found scattered over several villages in Jharia, Jainagar (Govindpur) and Pandra parganas. Special mention may be made of Tundi and North-Western Katras which are predominantly inhabited by the Santhals with a sprinkling of Kols in Tundi alone. The santhals have retained their ancient customs and culture. They call themselves "Hord" and the non-aboriginals. "Diku". Those who have adopted the manners and customs of the "Dikus" are no longer Hords. The Santhals speak their own dialect called santhali. Nowadays books in santhali printed either in Roman or Devnagri (script) are available. This is mainly due to the Christian missionaries and recent Government efforts. Santhals have no early marriages. Girls normally marry at their own free choice when they attain puberty. They are fond of wild flowers with which often they decorate their persons. Santhals have a host of gods and goddesses whom they worship. They adore "Marang Buru or Hooding Buru" which term literally means a hill like Parasnath or any other hill present in their area. 'Bandna' is one of the most important festivals of theirs. The women folk sing and dance in rows their 'Lagda' dance - a religious dance on such occasions of festivals. The males play

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music, sound their drums and blow their Basuries (flutes) made of bamboos just in front of the line of the females engaged in dancing. There people are found singing and clapping in praise of the rivers Damodar and Barakar on the occasion of Makarsankranti (the last day of the month of poush). Nowadays females are found using vermilion on the Forefront of their foreheads just like the Hindu women. They put on silver bangles, *Bichha* and *Hansulies* (necklaces) and these three constitute to be their chief ornaments. Previously the women folk used to put on thick Saris (motia) woven by the local Jolhas or imported from Gaya but nowadays they have taken to blouses, under-wears and mill-made saris and various types of jewellery of silver. 'Handia' prepared from rice ferment is their popular drink on occasions of social or religious rejoicings. They use it on almost every occasion of occasion of marriage and festival dance. Sometimes they prepare *mahua* spirit, a kind of liquor which is drunk by both the males and females. They resort to a special kind of dancing called 'Dame' dance on marriage occasions.

A place of seclusion, overgrown with bushes and shrubs is kept preserved in almost every village for the abode of their village god or *Gram Dewta* who, it is believed, is the protector of the village against all the dangers arising out of evil divine scourges, namely, cholera, pox and the like other epidemics. They worship this god in a body once a year towards the close of winter. On this occasion they make sacrifices of goats, sheep, pigs and hens. *Naya* is the priest. He makes prayers on behalf of the villagers. He burns incense, takes in the smoke and gets intoxicated with 'Handia' drink and thereafter he dance 'Lagda' dance round the sacred fire in the *Akhara* whipping on his back with a rope made of the stems of wild creeper plants tied or twisted together. Sometimes he goes on brandishing the rope right and left as he dances around the *Akhara* (dancing floor). Thereafter he sits near the sacred fire and tries to foretell the causes of the past, present and future evils. He also suggests the remedies and retributions of the foreboding evils. The headman of the village is called '*Manjhi*' and the head of the *Manjhis* in the whole *pargana* is called '*Paraganait*'. These *Manjhis* and *parganait*s exercise great influence on social, religion and organisational spheres of the Santhals. They are the natural leaders of the community. Whenever the *parganait* wants to start or resort

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to any social or communal *satyagrah* he sends a dohra (twigs of tree) to different villages accompanied with a drum for circulation and the Santhals have to obey this dohra.

Most of the Santhals are cultivators. But a few who have no sufficient land-holdings obtain their livelihood either from the forest products or by working in coal-mines. The Santhals are as a race sturdy, strong and cheerful. They have converted most of the hilly 'nalas' and streams into paddy fields. When they fall ill, they do not go to doctors or physicians. But the *Naya* or *Ojha* is often consulted. He prescribes some sort of drug to which they attach infinite confidence.

The Kols are far fewer than the Santhals in number. They are found inhabiting in some parts of jungle areas in Tundi. They are sparsely distributed here and there in some hill-slopes. They also retain their indigenous customs, manners and habits like those of the Santhals.

Mahulis are a class of typical mixture of aboriginals, some of them are converts to Islam. This section is known as 'Malhars'. But the majority of them are aboriginals. They speak a dialect akin to Santhali. Only a few converts have adopted some Muslim habits in respect of the ornaments of the women folk. The females put on seven metal rings in each of their ears. The chief occupation of the Mahulis is making brass-wares and basket-making with bamboo sticks. Cultivation is their chief occupation.

In the recent past Christian missionaries have opened two centers of their proselytizing activities, one at Pokhuria in Tundi police-station and other at a village near Chas. They have succeeded in making conversion of quite a large number of native Santhals near about Pokhuria. These missionaries have done a great service by spreading education amongst them and giving them free medical help.

The *Koras* constitute a class of people whose origin may be traced somewhere in the society of the aborigines but they have now adopted some of the customs and habits of the Hindus. They worship the gods and goddesses of the Hindus. They have some demi-gods such as *Panch-Bahinis*, *Kudra*, *Rangahari*, etc. These gods are represented by trees, stones and like other objects of nature which they paint with vermilion and attribute to them the virtues of deities.

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Earth-cutting is their chief occupation. Some of the them possess land -holdings and they earn their living either by cultivation or serving as agricultural laborers. The females of their society sing and dance in accompaniment of music of drum beating and *murli* blowing (country bamboo - made flute) on the occasion of marriages. They have the customary to observe a period of grief: (mourning) covering only ten days on the death of any of their close relation. On the tenth day after the death of a close relation, people assemble at the *ghat* of a tank or a river and get themselves shaved. Thereafter they take their bath and go back to their respective houses. On the following two days they have a feast.

Kurmis.- Kurmis are well distributed in this area of Dhanbad sub-district. They are predominant in *Jharia pargana*. Their number is by far greater than any other class of people. The relation and affinity which is found to exist between the Kurmis and Santhals may lead us to assume that the origin of these Kurmis would have been somewhere in the aborigines group. There is a tradition amongst the Santhals that the Kurmis are their elder brother and as such the santhals take rice or gruel prepared in the house of the Kurmis even though they do not accept this when prepared by caste Hindus. Now the Kurmis claim to be a kind of Kshatriya and some of them declare themselves as descendants of Kurmis muni. The Kurmis have adopted to a large extent the manners, customs and habits of the Hindus belonging to higher rank in the society. The females wear garments of their own fashion. The skirts of their garments do not touch their ankles. The married women put on their head a line of vermilion. They wear brass, silver and glass bangles. Some have silver *hasulis* around their necks and also wear ear tops. Early marriages were prevalent till a few years back among them. The women sing and dance on the marriage occasions. Blowing of conch shells is totally absent on such occasions in the society. Karma festival that comes off on the 11th lunar day in the month of *Bhadra* is observed with great pomp and mirth. Almost every sister desirous of her brother's welfare is required to observe this festival. A week earlier than the actual day of the festival the girls sow seeds of pulses like gram, *mung*, *urid*, etc., in a small basket filled with sand. Soon after the germination of the sapling, the girls dance in a circle around the saplings in chorus, every morning and

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evening all through the week preceding they of festival. The name of the Kasai river is repeat often time in the course of their songs. On they of *Ekadas-hi*, singing and dancing, continues from morning till evening round

a Karma branch, fixed on the round for the purpose; and the fest half or the whole the night is passed in *jhumar* dances and songs attend by music. In the morning the girls immerse the slings in some tank or stream and come back to their spective homes after a bath. Thereafter they fee other brother and tie a *bena* (a kind of grass) bangle their arms. The brother in return give them new other and garments. '*Jitia*' is another popular festival of the Kurmis. It comes off every year in the early part of *Aswin* month. It is observed on the dark Aswin of Aswin. Every month observes this festival of the welfare of her children. *Jhumar* dance is held a night round a bundle of sugarcane placed on the *tulsi manch* throughout the night of Jita swami. The women folk sing welcome and benedictory songs the occasion of marriages.

The Kurmis observe days of grief for ten days from the date of death.

They are guided by the laws and principles of *mitakshara* system.

There is a headman called Mahato in almost every village predominantly inhabited by the Kurmis. The mahato is like the president of the village society. He is indispensable in every social function. He decides the quarrels arising out of social questions. Mahato ship is hereditary. His superior body is the Mahato of the whole *parganas*. He is called 'Shikdar'. Shikdar exercises supreme power in every social function specially in cases of marriage and death, etc. The dialect which the Kurmis speak is commonly called 'Kurmoli'. It has close proximity to Magahi Hindi, but is not quite free from Bengali influence. This dialect differs slightly from the dialect spoken in Hazaribagh district. The kurmis now have become '*Diku*' as they have fully adopted the customs, manners and habits of the so-called Hindus belonging to higher grade in the society.

The second group of people has two subdivisions. The first section is composed of Brahmin, Kayastha, Bhumihar, Rajput, Ghatwar, Sonar, Lohar, Bania, Goala, Khar, Kamar, Kumhar, Barai, Rajwar, Teli, Tamboli, Sundi, Koeri, etc. The second section comprised of Chamar, Mehtar, Dome, Dhobi, Mirdha, Dusadh,

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Jolha, Dhunia, Kunjda and other. Although described before some of them could be mentioned again. The Brahmins are of various sub-castes such as (i) Kanaujia, (ii) Srotriya, (iii) Maithil, (iv) Gour, (v) Sakaldwipi, (vi) Agradani, (vii) Radhashreni. All these Brahmins except the last one have similar customs, manners, habits and culture. However, they belong to separate Gotras (agnates). They are the descendants of the Brahmins who came and settled here from Uttar Pradesh, Proper Bihar or northwestern part of India. They follow the customs which are prevalent in the tracts they have originally come from. The Radhashreni class of Brahmins came from Bengal during the later part of the Moghul ruler or early part of the British occupation of this area. These Brahmins have the customs and manners which are prevalent in Bengal. The Brahmins are well scattered over the area. Kanaujias and Srotriyas are in majority in Katras Pargana. Kayasthas also have several subcastes such as Ambastha, Shrivatav, Karan, Mathur, Sexena, Bhatnagar, and other and Rarhi Kayastha. The first three came and settled here from Uttar Pradesh or Bihar Proper. They retain the customs and manners which are in Uttar Pradesh and other parts of Bihar. The Rarhi Kayasthas came from Bengal along with the Radhashreni Brahmins. These Kayasthas follow the customs and rituals prevalent in Bengal. The Kayasthas are very few in number. They are very sparsely scattered over a few villages in Dhanbad sub-district.

The Bhumihars now claim to be Brahmins. Their occupation is mainly agriculture. They do not follow the priestly work nor are they allowed by the society to do so. They are cultivators and some of them were landlords. But they do not plough the lands themselves. Some of them are lawyers or businessmen. They are in minority just like the Kayasthas. Their ancestors came here and settled down either from Uttar Pradesh or Bihar proper.

Rajputs claim that their forefathers came here from Rajasthan and North-Western India. They retain all the customs and manners of their community residing in U.P or Rajasthan.

Ghatwars also claim to be Kshatriyas. The ancestors of the Ghatwars were the chiefs and *sirdars* of the people residing in this part of the land in early times when forest were not cleared. They were the defenders of

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the *ghats* or mountain passes so they were called 'Ghatwals' or Ghatwars and enjoyed large grants of lands. They exercised powers of almost Governors and rulers in the part.

Sonar, Lohar, Bania, Barai, Barhi, Goala, Kahar, Kamar, Kumhar, Koeri, Kurmi, Teli, Tamboli, Sundi, etc., belong to either vaishya -a class or cultivator class. The ancestors of these people came here and settled down along with the Brahmins and Kayasthas who migrated to this part during later part of Hindu rulers or at the time when early occupation of North- West India by the Muslims was effected. These people are well distributed throughout the whole area of Dhanbad sub-district. Specially Telis are predominantly in majority in Nawagarh *Pargana*. Telis extract oil out of oilseeds in their *ghanis*, the name given to cultivators by occupation. Some of them distil liquor from *mahua* flower. Widow marriage is not prevalent amongst them. Sundis are of two divisions, one class follows the customs and manners of Bihar proper, The other class follows those of Bengal.

The descendants of the people who migrated to this area during the Muslim rule probably under Arranged and later Moghul kings to avoid religious persecution, constitute the third group. Strictly speaking there can be no line of demarcation between the second and third groups. Migration that started during the Buddhist age, Jaina period or later Hindu kings continued in gradual process till the closing chapter of Muslim rule. Sometimes people were out for the discovery of suitable lands to satisfy their land hunger; but very often during the later part of the Muslim rule they migrated to avoid fanatical persecution and forcible conversions. It may be mentioned that Dhanbad district is of special importance to the Jains.

Out of total 24 Jain Tirthankars as many as twenty found their 'samadhis' at the nearby Parasnath hill. So it is assumed that this area was once under the direct influence of the Jains. Again the find of the brass and bronze Jain images at Sindurpethy on the southern bank of the Damoder in Chas Pargana indicates that Jainism held the ground in this part before the Muslims entered India. The Saraks who are strictly vegetarians are believed to be the remnants of the Jains here. The presence of Jain relics, metal images and the existence

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of the Saraks constitutes to be a test-

imony to the Jain predominance near about the Damoder and Barakar valleys.

The Jolhas and Dhunias are known as 'Momins' and are probably the descendants of the early converted low class Hindus and semi-hilly tribes like Chamar, Mehtar, Dome, Mahuli, Muchi, Malhar, etc. They have adopted Islamic mode of life in the main; but they have retained to this day some habits and customs of the Hindus in respect of their dress and ceremonials.

The Jolhas residing in remote villages near about the Hindu habitations freely join the Hindu in observance of 'chhat' and similar other festivals. The occupation of the Jolhas is weaving coarse cloth of various types. But some of them own land-holdings. They are principally cultivators. These Jolhas speak 'Khortha' dialect and educationally they are backward. The Dhunias earn their living by carding cotton and the Kunjras carry on trade on green vegetables, etc.

Another group is composed of the people who are the descendants of those who came and settled here after the British occupation of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. As Calcutta was the headquarters, the people near about Calcutta naturally came more in their touch. They were the first Indians to be influenced by the English and got first English education. For this reason some Bengalis with English education to their credit found lucrative jobs under the British officers in every district and subdivisonal headquarters. They also secured services under the local zamindars because of their attainments of English knowledge and they could conduct the zamindari affairs better. Bengali or Radhashreni Brahmins, Rarhi Kayasthas, Baidyas, Sonars, Baniyas, Bauris and the like are the descendants of those people who came and settled here as immigrants from Bengal. They have all become now a part of the indigenous population of the district. Some of them have penetrated and settled down in the villages as well.

The Bengalis have their own customs and manners somewhat distinct from those of other people who are the descendants of the people who came from Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan or Bihar proper. There are also many points of contact and one influencing the other. The *Durga Puja and Saraswati Puja* of Bengal have been

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adopted in Bihar. The mode of wearing dress, ornaments or food habits have changed for both. The Bengalis have been the pioneer for female education and the liquidation of *purdah system*.

They have made speculation, sunk capital and have taken the risks. The other division comprises the labour class, working in coal-mines, or mercantile establishments or in the house of the rich as servants and attendants. This group is more of a floating population of this place.

As a result of Mr. Jinnah's direct action, August, 1946 and partition of the country, a large number of people from West and East Pakistan commonly known as refugees came here. These people have been settled mostly in the towns where they follow their vocations being aided by the Government.

The last group of highly educated classes, engineers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, technical men of various levels is progressing in number with the development of the district, founding of more and more educational and scientific institutions. Businessmen and capitalists from all parts of India are now in Dhanbad district.

While Jamshedpur, the steel city in Bihar, has more of one group of technical men, Dhanbad has the privilege of having highly technical men of various branches. The rapid development of the roadways has brought in a great expansion of roadways automobile industry and there is, no other place in Bihar which is the contact point of more passenger buses and goods trucks. No other Railway station in Bihar has more of passenger buses and trucks standing day and night nearby for custom. The whole district is now pulsating with development projects, past avenues of industries, trade and commerce, and naturally this group of people is coming in more and more to the district.

THE SCHEDULED TRIBES OF DHANBAD DISTRICT.

They have a large population in the northernmost part of Dhanbad which consists of the Parasnath and Tundi ranges and group of inconspicuous hills lying north of the Grand Trunk Road comprised in the jurisdiction of Topchanchi, Govindpur, Tundi and Nirsa police-station. They are scattered in all parts of Dhanbad but they are numerically small in areas lying south of the Grand

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Trunk road as would appear from the following table (1951 district census hand – book ,page 8 and 77) :-

Name of place	Total population.	Person S.T.	Male S.T.	Female S.T.	Percentage S.T.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Dhanbad District	7,31,700	1,14,529	57,137	57,392	15.6
Rural	6,58,098	1,04,629	52,315	52,314	15.8
Urban	73,602	9,900	4,822	5,078	13.4
Jharia Revenue Thana (excluding Dhanbad, Jharia and Sindri Towns).	2,61,169	24,867	12,141	12,726	9.5
Topchanchi ..	1,60,065	12,43	6,481	5,951	7.7
Gobindpur, Nirsa and Tundi Revenue thanas.	2,36,864	67,330	33,693	33,637	28.4
All town of dhanbad district	73,602	9,900	4,822	5,078	13.4

In Tundi P.S which is adjacent to the santhal parganas and which covers 80 per cent of the forest and hills of Dhanbad they form nearly half of the total population .

Considering the small area of Dhanbad, the Adivasi Population is fairly high .This is due to the considerable influx from outside, more specially from santhal parganas and Hazaribagh for working in the coal-mines. This is due to the considered as best miners and the colliery owners are anxious to retain them.

The main type of tribals in Dhanbad District are the Santhals, Mundas, Ho, kharia, Korwa and kora. Their Population figures are 1,05,069; 7,397; 1,185; 790; 53 and 27 respectively.

The mental test of tribal in Santhals carried out by the department of anthropology indicate that they are ahead of the other Scheduled Tribes so far as concrete intelligence and aptitude for hand work, muscular co-ordination, speed, finger dexterity and other motor abilities. But They come off very poorly in comparison with urban Bhils of Central India as regards abstract thinking which requires powers of mental analysis and synthesis . Santhals of the rural area and those under partial influence of industrialisation indicate the same ability for adaptation and are somewhat superior in intelligence.

The Adivasis have their well developed community life, simplicity, honesty, unsophisticatedness ,placid contentment and a spirit of abandon, humour and enjoyment. In selecting seed ,choosing of the time of sowing and harvesting, the decision of Manjhi prevails.



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The priest of the village organises planting and harvesting ceremonies and propitiates gods for the protection of crops and prosperity of the village. For generations several waves of domination have passed over them but they have kept their culture, i.e., their material social, religious, intellectual and artistic achievements more or less intact due to this well developed community.

The tribals are a democratic people and their socio-politico unit is the village rather than the tribe or tribal group. Each village is run by a few selected headmen assisted by the village council. The position of headmen depends solely on the wealth, personality or force of character. The headmen among the santhals is usually called ***Barku Manjhi*** who is assisted by a council of *panches*. A group of 15 to 20 villages are under one Desh Manjhi and above him is the parganait who controls a pargana under him. They have their own tribal panchayats which decide matters concerning them.

To a primitive people the method of procuring food is as important as his life. Their religion, folklore, custom, habit and social organisation are all based on the primary instinct of procurement of food and self-preservation. Primarily, the Adivasis are agriculturists growing rice, makai, marua, china, kurthi, rahar, etc., which sustain them for about six months in a year. They supplement their stock of cereals with edible roots, forest-fruits and objects of hunting and fishing. The devastation of forest, spread of agriculture and indiscriminate shooting of animals have considerably reduced games. Therefore, they have been compelled by reason instinct of hunting and by the necessity of supplementing their stock of cereals to keep domestic animals such as, pigs, sheep, goats and fowls. They hunt all kinds of animals, fowls, reptiles such as, snakes, rats, crows, birds, wild boars, deer, monkeys, rabbits, crabs, jackals, etc., for their food. They even kill cows and pigs for their food and eat corpses of cows and other animals but this practice is fast dwindling. They do not use oil or fat for cooking food. Sometimes, they use mahua oil and very rarely ghee for cooking. Among the cereals they take rice and boiled water with salt. Very seldom they use kurthi and rahar dal as pulses. Generally they eat rice with vegetables boiled in water. Vegetables, meat, fish, etc., are boiled with salt and ground chillies. The cereals are generally cooked by boiling in a pot for a few minutes on fire and then the pots are covered with leaves and kept on fire. Rats, fish, crabs, etc., are also fried on open fire and the meat is taken with salt. Due to weak and small cows they do not milk, ghee or curd to supplement their diet. *Handia*, i.e., rice-beer is their only beverage which they use both for ceremonial and drinking purposes and offering it to their deities. The traditional home-made tribal drinks are said to have some nutritive value and supplement their unbalanced intake of food. They also drink wine brewed out of fermented *mahua* which also has some nutritive value. They have now been taking alcoholic drink.

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Marriage by capture was a common and approved means of securing a wife among them. The *Barat* party of the bridegroom and the bride-people celebrate a war like dance at the door of the bride indicating the old custom of securing a wife by capture.

In some respect the tribals have a superior culture than the Hindu culture in the sense that they have no child marriage. They have a free marriage and no social or religious condition is attached to their marriage except that the marriage cannot take place in their town caste. For example a tribal belonging to Basuki caste cannot marry a tribal of same caste. It is usual custom that the younger brother marries the widow of his elder brother and keeps the peace and economy of the family intact. A Santhal or a tribal may have more than one wife but generally he has only one.

Primitive people seriously believe in witchcraft and often the whole village community unites to drive away or even to kill a poor old woman suspected to be a witch.

Tattooing of different parts of the body is commonly practised on a wide scale in the superstitious belief of keeping away diseases and calamities. The flesh of crows is prized with the idea that it would do good to the eyes. Human sacrifice was practised before. The tribals have a very dangerous and inhuman custom of practising *Bitlaha* on persons committing social crime. When a non-Santhal commits rape or adultery with a Santhal woman the Santhals of the area, armed with their traditional weapons of bows and arrows and axe attack and ravage, often burn house and may mercilessly beat him to death. Then they hold a community feast as if the guilty person was dead. In times of emergency in which the assemblage of the whole tribe is necessary, they give a danger signal by beating *nagara*, their traditional drum, in a peculiar way. They also circumnubate a branch of tree among the tribals for this purpose. This custom is in vogue since time immemorial. The tribals have a custom of putting their dead in graves but wealthy tribals burn dead bodies.

Loin cloth or a piece of coarse cloth is the usual wear of a Santhal and in the cold weather a coarse thick wrapper is used. The woman used to wear hand-spun coarse *sari* of a small width. Now the mill-made cloth and *saris* are extensively used and people are now taking to the mode of wearing *dhoti* and *sari* as the Hindus do. Some Santhal women wear *gendra*, i.e, old and rotten clothes stitched together. Mostly male and female do not wear any cloth above waist probably because of the heat of the hill. The females cover their breasts with a part of the saris. The Christian Santhals are better dressed and usually wear the same type of upper and under-wear as the Hindus. The women and girls are fond of decorating their hair with jungle flowers while going to the market and for a dance. The Santhal woman keeps her dress and body very clean unlike the woman of other caste of the same status. They have

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very few clothing in summer as they do not require much clothing but in winter they manage with handloom coarse *chadar*. The bedding of an average Santhal consists of the *sujni*, i.e., old rotten piece of stitched together into the size of a *dari*. Most of them use paddy straw on the floor or on the cot in winter. They also use mattresses made of palm leaves. In rainy season they use umbrella of bamboos and sal leaves for working in fields and for going outside. Very few of them use ordinary umbrellas.

Almost all the houses of the Santhals are situated on two sides of village lane which is commonly called the *Sadar Kulhi*. They are generally housed on the top of the slope with a view to drain away all rubbish and offensive materials in the rainy season. Almost all the Adivasis have their own houses with a roof over them. The houses are mud-built with straw thatched roofs. There is homogeneity in designs of roofs which are very artistic. The walls have paintings. Each house contains a *bari* land which is meant for growing vegetable. In most cases, the houses contains only one room in which the whole family sleeps at night, cooks the food, keeps their denki or paddy-husking lever and *mories* for storing paddy. There is another enclosure in the courtyard in which poultries, pigs, goats, sheep, etc., are kept. The Adivasis plaster the walls and floors of the house with cow dung and colour and keep their houses neat and clean unlike the houses of other castes belonging to the same status. There are hardly any windows and openings in the house. The richer of the Santhals are now building tiled houses with courtyards.

They have *khats* (bedsteads) of the size of 4' x 2 ½' x 1 ½' which are cross-woven with strings of jungle fibres. The reason for the smallness in size is a continuation of the superstitious belief among them that the man would die if his legs are not outstretched beyond the cot. This cot is also used for sitting outside and for drying grain. The Adivasis have a *machli* of 2' x 1 ½' x 1' cross-woven with strings of jungle fibres which is used as a stool. They have *pirha* to sit on the ground floor which is made from the local wood. Wealthy Santhals use tables, chairs, or benches. Generally the Santhals put their few clothes and beddings on *algani* which is a piece of bamboo hung from the ceiling with strings. Cooking earthen posts, earthen pots containing ghee, oil, etc., and cooked food are either kept on the *takhas*, that is a space on the wall or on *shika* which is made of ropes of jungle fibres and suspended from the ceiling. Earthen pots are usually in demand for the kitchen. The valuables are kept in earthen pots and buried in the floor at a place which is known to the head of the family only. They use *thali*, *katora*, glass of metals and *karahi*, *chholni*, etc., of iron.

Games and Pastimes.

The Santhals organise an annual hunt once in the month of *Baisakh* (April) before sowing of crops in the Parasnath, Tundi and Dimunda hills. Dimunda *pahar* of Tundi P.S. is called the King of

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God and the Parasnath hill is called Morongburn . A successful hunt is always considered as an omen of successful harvest . After the hunt the tribals gather five seers of rice , five seers of chura (fried rice) and twenty pieces of bread which are subscribed and shared among them whereas the common hunt which is generally a deer is shared by them. On *Sankranti* day the *yatra* (start) is done by yoking and ploughing the bullocks and worship of *Morongburu* and bows and arrows. The *Barku Manjhi* asks the village folk to live a good and austere life. Archery competition is held on that day and sweets are distributed to successful contestants. The function ends with dancing and singing . While going to the forest the Adivasi gets himself armed with bows and are found even when he is engaged in cutting wood and carrying timber . The children learn to move swiftly through the dense jungles, to track animals silently and to aim their arrows on birds and small animals. One of their pastimes is cock-fighting on market days in which the beaten cock is loss to the winner.

Adibasi Culture.

Tribal art, dances and music have their exclusiveness and high development . They are poor but they keep themselves wonderfully happy and cheerful by their community music ,dancing and singing . Their musical instruments such as *nagara,dholki,jhanjh* and *mridang* are simple but give a vigorous music in tune with their tenor of life. Dancing is also a magico-religious means for pleasing deities. Music and dancing and singing start with nightfall almost in every village and continue till late hours. The boys and girls are the usual performers while the mature and the old are observers. The akhara or the dancing floor is a part of their existence.

Tribal art finds expression in the artistic painting on their houses, construction of roof , rhythm and substance of their songs and the movement of the bodies . Clean in mind and body they have a culture which could well be emulated to a great extent by others.

Rituals.

The festivals of the tribals are entirely connected with their agriculture and natural operations . In all festivals a small quantity of rice beer locally called 'handia' is used by Naya Manjhi and every festival is enjoyed with dancing and singing and music.

The '*Bandana Parab*' is their great festival which is observed in the month of poos corresponding to January each year. The *Naya Manjhi* , who is their priest , performs the puja in the *Burha Burhi Than* (sacred place) and then the *Barku Manjhi* performs the *puja* and thereafter all the villagers perform it. Ghosts are

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worshipped, hens and cocks, boar, pigs and goats are sacrificed and the function ends with community dancing. Generally they get heavily drunk. They worship *Zahirasthan* which is a sacred grove where the gods live. No one can cut the trees of this grove. They also perform *Kali Puja*, *Durga Puja* and *Rash Purnima* and *Mansa Puja*. Some of them have clearly been taken in due to the impact of Hinduism.

The *Sarhul* festival marks the bursting of the trees into new leaf and the beginning of the spring while the *Karma* festival marks the completion of the transplantation of the paddy. The *Jitia* festival is held for the benefit of the children only. Their festivals are well timed and properly spaced.

Agriculture.

The Santhals are generally settled agriculturists. Shifting cultivation is nowhere practiced here. The productivity of their lands is generally very low. Besides the main rice crop they grow *makai*, *marua*, *kurthi* and other crops for home consumption. They do not give any attention to the production of remunerative cash crops, such as sugarcane, tobacco, potato, chillies, oilseeds, vegetables or fruits. Their agriculture is carried out according to primitive methods. Next to Agriculture the main occupation of the Adivasis is coal-mining, earth-cutting and hard manual labour. The coal-mines and industries in the district give them a great opportunity for employment.

Forests.

The Adivasis used to freely exploit and even damage the forests. Since the introduction of Bihar Private Forests Act, 1946, the forest area has come under the Government management. The reservation caused a problem for them and for sometime they were sullen. The coal-mines and development of industries in Dhanbad district have lessened their problem and they have now adjusted themselves.

Medicine.

The treatment of patients usually consisted in many cases of incantations, charms or performance of *puja* and use of simple herbs, the urine and ghee of cows, the knowledge of which is handed down from father to son. Complete starvation and abstinence from drink is ordinarily prescribed in fever cases. The Adivasis are generally apathetic due to seclusion and poverty, to the hospitals and dispensaries. Witchcraft is still a potent factor and the witch doctors are in great demand.

The Adivasis suffer mostly from malaria, dysentery and Kala-azar and small-pox which are due to impure water and forests. A special anti-malaria unit has been recently opened in Jhinaki specially for the benefit of Adivasis. Dispensaries and hospitals are being opened

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up in their tracks. The blocks have a hospital each and now slowly their allergy for hospitals is expected to liquidate. Wells are being sunk for supply of good water.

Cottage Industries.

The cottage industries of the Santhals comprised carpentry, spinning and Weaving, basket and mat-making, Khapra-making (tiles), rope-making, dona-making (leaf cups), lac rearing, sawing and biri making. Taking in to account the economic backwardness of the Adivasis the Government issued notification no.D/3/275/53- 1040/C.I., dated the 5th February, 1954, directing that sections 9 and 10 of the Bihar and Orissa State Aid to Industries Act,1923, requiring security and mortgage shall not apply to the grant of a loan or the supply of machinery on the hire – purchase system involving the advance and expenditure of an amount not exceeding five hundred rupees to them for the growth and development of cottage Industries. The development of various industries in Dhanbad has given an immense opportunity to them and cottage industries do not now provide them with hardly gaintel occupations. In spite of that loans have been granted to them for starting cottage industries.

The Thana Welfare Officers act as their friend, philosopher and guide. That is the aim.

In addition to the services of Thana Welfare Officers the non-official organization of *Adimjati Seva mandal,Ranchi* and *Manbhum Adimjati Seva Mandal*, Gosaindih and Vivekanand *Ashram*, Tundi place their services for the welfare of the Adivasis.

SOCIAL AND HOME LIFE.

As regards religious beliefs, manners and customs, the people follow the Pattern prevailing in the contiguous districts in west Bengal and Hazaribagh in Bihar There is not much difference in dialect within the same linguistic group but the rural population is distinctly divided in mother tongue on the basis of Hindus, Muslims, etc., On the one hand and Adivasis and Scheduled castes on the other. Among the villagers, there is today drift visible towards towns and the mining and industrial area. Inevitably this is influencing the manners and customs of the people and due to universal free education provided by the State Government in Public schools, the tendency is towards a common script.

The social life of the villagers remains mostly as simple as before. Old traditions and beliefs prevail due to conservative nature of the population particularly in the rural areas. The Old idea of Joint Family system among the Hindus is rapidly liquidating even in the villages. The shift of the more intelligent and educated section from the rural areas to the towns is adding to the liquidation of the Joint family system in the rural areas. Family life is becoming more and more individualistic. Usually the branch of the family

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which earns more money slowly separates itself from the poorer branch. Family life in the villages is disintegrating and educated persons as a class are shifting to the towns. Among the lower castes, morals seem to be rather weak and the grown up married girls though in rare cases do not hesitate to get away from the protection of their husbands and live with other people of their own free choice. For this purpose, no legal divorce is restored to and it is not unoften that after sometime the married girls return to their husband's family where they are received back as a matter of course. Dowries are paid generally by the girls' parents but in lower castes and groups, dowries are also paid by the husband's families. Inter-caste marriages are rare. The marital age varies regarding the custom and sometimes young girls within the group of 5 to 10 years are given away in marriages. Prostitution, traffic in women, adultery, ect., are not practiced as a profession due to the liberty already enjoyed by some lower caste people. Drinking is an almost universal vice and the gambling habit is very common. This is particularly so among the mining and industrial workers who earn a lot but squander away more than 50 per cent of their recent income over drinking and gambling. Efforts are being made by various agencies to reform their habits and to win them over from their vices of drinking and gambling but without any appreciable success so far. All these observations apply to mostly lower caste families in rural areas but the higher caste families in the villages are free from those vices, the loose marital practices and moral delinquencies. Conservative and orthodox by nature, these higher caste people in rural areas are rigidly sticking to their old traditions, habits and practices and so far as these people are concerned, there is little difference in urban and rural areas. The Adibasis and aboriginals have neither been appreciably affected by the changes of this industrial age and have practically remained constant in their habits, practices and ways of life although a vast majority of them have come out to earn their living in the mining and industrial establishments.

For the working class people, employment in the industries on a vast scale as in this mining district of Dhanbad has not been an unmixed evil due to those vices in their lives but it has also helped to bring about a great economic change on account of their increase in earning. A miner's family consisting of himself, his wife and adult sons who are all wages-earners usually raises its earning to somewhere near about Rs.500 a month as the salary for an unskilled mine worker has been raised to the level of about Rs. 100 a month by the colliery award. This spectacular rise in a working class family's monthly income is reflected in the habits of the family members, the females and children particularly, who are not only dressed well now-a-days but have a few ornaments, wrist watches and a few other articles like those of middle class families. There has been a visible improvement in their health due to their ability to have adequate healthy meals as required and also more nourishing

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and palatable food articles. This applies not only to the mine and industrial workers but also to all people in the lower strata who make a decent income by their caste occupations and other kinds of work.

As regards property rights and inheritance laws it may be noted that for the Hindus, the law of inheritance is governed by the Mohammedans, by the Mohammedan Law. The Hindus are governed according to laws laid down by Dayabhag or Mitakshara system and also by local custom. The Bengalees are followers of the Mitakshara system. The aboriginals are protected by restrictions on transfer of their lands although the rigidity of the law is being relaxed gradually. Other people in the rural areas enjoy all usual property rights and unrestricted power on transfer. This area being a mixed area, the people are ruled by the laws of inheritance of either system according to the degree of influence on them. The followers of Dayabhag are, therefore, governed in respect of inheritance by the *pinda* theory whereas the followers of the Mitakshara system are ruled by consanguinity.

The position of women in this district along with the women elsewhere has been improved since the passing of the Hindu Marriage Act, 1957. A Hindu daughter has now as good a claim in her father's property as the son, provided her father does not debar her by law. Window marriage and divorce are coming in though not common. Monogamy is the rule now.

So far as Mohammadans are concerned the father has the absolute right in the property and can debar any of the sons from inheritance. Among Mohammedans the daughter has as good a claim in her father's property as the son and there is a fixed rate of the rights of son and daughter and the other relatives.

Apart from the loose morals and comparatively free marriage systems stated above, monogamy is the general rule, polygamy is popular and polyandry is not altogether unknown in the lower castes among the rural population. Civil marriages among these people are not resorted to because they are not necessary.

As regards home life it may be noted that changes are seen in the pattern of houses and household particulars in the urban areas. The traditional house with a few rooms, narrow verandah, and a courtyard with a well, kitchen, lavatory and cowshed is now better planned, although the floor space has become less. The use of cement is common and the low mud and brick house with lime is being replaced by cemented concrete smaller houses. Owing to the great demand for residential house, flat system has been superimposed on houses which were not built for that purpose and not much privacy is allowed. The part of the house in towns which is neglected is the

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bath-room. Even in big residential houses very small bath-rooms are to be seen. Housing conditions are rather exacting in every town and for the average family the house rent paid represents a big percentage of income. Although living in flats is gradually coming in vogue with difficulties about sharing of entrance, kitchen, bath-room, lavatory, well or tap, there is no sign of community cooking coming in. Even in a small house, when there are several occupants, everyone has a separate cooking arrangement. Yet this system of sharing houses goes to break down many social conventions and caste barriers.

There has not been much change in the pattern of houses in the villages. Richer people who are building cemented concrete houses in the villages are adopting the modes in vogue in towns adding certain rural features. There is more of living space per inmate in houses in the rural area. The poor live in very small huts in insanitary conditions.

The aboriginals, particularly the Santhals live in humble dwellings which are, however, kept exceptionally neat and clean. They also attach certain sanctity to the marital relationships and keep their young girls under strict watch so that they may go astray and commit any vices with youths of non-aboriginal tribes.

Another sign of the upgrading of the standard of living is the provision of more furniture in the household both in rural and urban areas. The average family has some furniture in the houses consisting of bedstead, tables and chairs. However, in the villages, tables and chairs are rare. but in the towns there will be found one or two benches, tables, a couple of stools or chairs even in the household of a man of lower income-group. The families of higher income-group have the proper furniture for the drawing, dining and other rooms.

Daily life.

The daily life that is prevalent at the present time, either in towns or in villages, in the district is somewhat different from the daily life in vogue fifty years back. Some of the factors that have brought about the changes are spread of western education with all its corollaries, growth of libraries and places of amusement, the influence of the press, trends in the economic condition of the people and improvement in communications. There has been a remarkable change in the social values of castes; particularly the vernacular press has brought about changes in the mental outlook affecting the daily life.

The much neglected villages have now attracted the attention of the Government and the desertion by the zamindars and the richer people for the towns has some extent compensated. The system of Gram Panchayat has a great role to play in raising the status of the villages. In many a big village, a Block Development Officer, a karmchari, a Mukhiya, a Gram Sewak, a Co-operative

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Inspector, a Veterinary Assistant, a Medical officer, a health Assistant, an overseer, etc., may be found. This picture is quite different from what we had a decade before, when in the rural area the only static official normally was the police thana officer. With the emphasis on development work the villages have assumed a new role and will go on playing a bigger role in the future.

Another factor affecting the village life is the fairs and melas. The melas and fairs bring to the village communities the commodities which have now become a part and parcel of the village household. Articles like lantern, torch, bicycle, better types of shoes, various toilet articles, etc; have good sale. In spite of better communication facilities that have cut out the distance between the urban markets and the villages, the melas and fairs have still their fascination for the rural public.

The daily life of the people varies according to different status and avocations of the castes or classes.

Rich people, whether in the urban or in the rural areas, will have a routine different than that of a poor man, a day labourer or an office assistant or a petty shopkeeper. In the urban areas the common pattern of daipy life in the intelligientia class of people is that the person rises early in the morning and gets ready after his bath and breakfast within an hour. He reads the newspaper and then turns to the call of his profession. By 10 A.M. he is redy after a meal for his place of business. In the evening he will probably study, visit friends or a club or some amusement centre or spend the evening with a pleader, a school or college teacher, a businessmn and a Government servant. A lawyer or a doctor will have to deny himself the pleasures of social amanities sometime after dusk because of the demand of his profession. Usually a businessman stays at the place of his business till quite late in the night. Amusements, like cinemas or theatricals, will not be normally resorted to as a part of daily life. The Sundays or other holidays are usually spent in resting or visiting friends or somr amusement centres.

The office assistants or the persons associated with the officers, courts, etc., in the towns have a regular pattern of life. By 9-30 A.M. or so he is to get ready for office and after a quick meal he will be in the office by 10-30 A.M. In the noon he takes a cup of tea with probably some snacks.

A daily labourer in the towns starts his work early in the morning and returns by 6 P.M. or so. His meal is either taken to the site by his people or he has to take some dry food, like *sattu* or *bhunja* with him. The labourer in the town has seldom an opportunity to have a noon-day meal at his house on a working day. Usually by the evening he comes back very tried and has to relax himself.

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The labourer in a village takes some food cooked over night, locally known as *basia*, early in the morning and goes for his work. He works in the field whole day and usually has no proper midday meal. If at all a noon-day meal is taken to him by the women folk of his family, this meal usually consists of cooked rice and probably some spinach (*sag*). He comes back home in the evening and after a wash he has his substantial meal in the night and retires. This meal will also consist of cooked rice, probably a little dal and some vegetables. The evening meal is usually taken quite early and by 8 P.M. or so a labourer's household will cease for the day. The women folk of his house or of some rich neighbour. They would keep themselves busy in cooking food, washing clothes, looking after the children and doing a little marketing.

The average town wage earner would go to his place of work after taking some snacks, the quality of which depends on the financial means of a family. If he is a mechanic or a mason or a carpenter or belongs to a slightly higher wage group, he would probably have some *chapatis* of wheat, some vegetables and a cup of tea. Meat or fish or even *dal*, however, does not find place in the daily menu of an ordinary wage earner, whether in the town or in the village, whose income ranges between Rs. 2 to Rs. 2.50 per day.

One thing is remarkable to be noted that in this district the industrial labourers working in the coalfield areas come in the evening and after getting afresh they usually indulge themselves in intoxication. About 95 percent of them drink wine because without this they cannot work in the coal mining areas as a result of which they have to take loans on interest from *Kabuliwalas* or other money lenders.

Entertainments.

Economic pressure has left little room for entertainments. Population has increased enormously but there has not been much expansion in the field of production. Wants of common men have also increased without any commensurate rise in income. A lot of leisure is spent in idle talks and local politics. However, songs and music have a great fascination for the rural people. Bhajan and kirtans and devotional songs with music have not lost their popularity. Apart from them there is a craze for particular types of songs in particular seasons like Holi, etc. The meals and fairs have a great impact on the rural population. Usually the meals and fairs provide a number of amusement centres such as nautanki, theatre parties, circus, cinema shows, etc. These amusement centres in the rural areas have a great influence in the sense of humour and the craving for amusement among the rural population. Many of the cinema hits could be heard sung by the villagers.

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Football matches and wrestling have a great hold on a rural public. In bigger villages as well as in towns there are theatrical parties during particular festivals like Durga Puja or Deepawali.

The towns in the district have somewhat better facilities for amusement and recreation. Dhanbad district has got ten cinema houses and some sort of exhibition or amusement centres practically remain there for at least four to five months in the year. Beside, there are many recreational clubs, for social and cultural advancement in the district, viz., Union Club, Rotary Club, Lindsey Club, Railway Club, Tarun Sangh, all at Dhanbad; Union Club, Jharia; Lodna Club, Lodna; Bhaga Mining Club, Bhaga; Bhartiya Club, Katrasgarh; and Mazdoor Club, Govindpur; Sijua Mining Club, Sijua; Maithon Club, Maithon and Panchet Recreation Club, Panchet.

The student population has very little contact with their teachers during the hours beyond the college study. The bulk of the student population fend for themselves in the afternoons and congregate near the tea shops or the restaurants or visit cinema houses. Football matches and other games have a stronghold on them and their craze and interest could have been canalised to organise more of sports, cultural meetings, etc. The towns do not have adequate playing grounds, parks or centres of cheap amusements and recreation. Cinemas are the big attraction in the towns now for amusements and recreation. Club life also developed to a great extent. Card games are very popular.

It is a regrettable fact that there has been very little recreational use of the forests, lakes, springs and beauty spots in this district. Very little use is also made of the few libraries in the district. It can be said that there is not much utilisation of proper relaxation in the district.

Prostitution and traffic in women.

It is unfortunate that prostitutes should be accepted as a common element in the social structure of Dhanbad town till very recently. A large number of prostitutes lived and many of them own *pucca* houses in Lalbazar in Jharia, Godhar in Kerkend P.-S., Joraphatak and Matkuria in Dhanbad police-station. In the vicinity of these areas there are houses of other respectable people, shops etc.

This feature has a background. In the olden days it was nothing uncommon for a rich zamindar openly maintaining public women and also going out with them in vehicles in the evenings. Songsters were in great demand and were a common feature in social ceremonies like Tilaks, marriages, etc. There were also singers and dancers among them and it has to be remembered that it is this class of women who were both patronised and despised in the same breath. This class had kept up the institution of classical dancing and music when they were not cultivated at all in domestic families.

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Three decades back it was unthinkable that an educated school or college girl would openly dance and sing in the public. There has been a great advance in social thoughts regarding music, dance, etc., and in the light of the present trend the contribution of the professional singers in the past should not be totally ignored. If there was a large section of them that had fallen in morality the responsibility was not exclusively theirs. The very fact that they were allowed to live in the heart of the town, built or owned houses, and carry on the profession openly shows that there was an encouragement to them by the society.

With the spread of education and advanced thoughts there has also been a simultaneous upgrading among the women of this class also. It is a common feature now that many of the fallen are bringing up their daughters or younger sisters in a different atmosphere and are keen to give them a proper schooling for their future.

In this district prostitutes were not confined to Dhanbad and Jharia towns only but some of other townships and large villages also had a number of prostitutes.

An investigation was made about 50 families of prostitutes in Lalbazar *mahalla* in Jharia town. As usual their places have to be carefully watched by the police as various types of anti-social elements collect there.

In 1956 Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Girls and Women Act was passed by Central Government. It was enforced in the district of Dhanbad in November, 1960. Since the enactment of this Act these areas have been declared as Red Light Area. Almost all families of prostitutes have left this place. The interested people used to visit places like Sitampur, Lachipur and other areas in the vicinity of Asansol in Burdwan district.

The abolition of zamindari and the deterioration of the economic condition of the common mass have affected these professionals very adversely. The changes in social ideas do not encourage the singing and the dancing of such women at the social functions. Without a leisured class of men with long purse the financial condition of such women is bound to deteriorate. This is what has happened and many of the girls of such families are now getting themselves educated.

There is still a certain amount of underground traffic in women. The enquiry also disclosed that a few of them had to adopt this profession because of the hardships or because they were led astray at a very young age and society would not take them back.

Since the Immoral Traffic Act was enforced in the district in 1960, the financial condition of the prostitutes has declined. Social consciousness has to be aroused and a proper rehabilitation in the practical field is essential.

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Drinking and Gambling.

Dhanbad district is not a prohibited area. The revenue of the Excise department is increasing year by year. Both country and foreign liquors are sold in huge quantity.

Drinking for the common man has been a feature because the district is an industrial one and full of collieries. The laborers working in the industries are accustomed to drink daily. There are licensed shops both in the towns as well as in the rural areas where country liquor of different grades is sold. There is a ban for the consumption of country liquor within the premises of the shop. This is not strictly followed as investigation shows. The idea is that if there is a ban on consumption of country liquor within the shop premises there will be a decline in the consumption of the liquor. It was thought that the people will hesitate to buy country liquor and take them home for drinking the beverage. With this is counteracted by allowing the people to drink just outside the shop. Sale of foreign liquors is also controlled. The enormous rise in the price of foreign liquor stands as a check to its promiscuous consumption. The sale of the foreign liquors has increased now than in the past.

Certain types of criminal offences are usually associated with promiscuous drinking. Crime figures of sexual offences commonly associated with heavy drinking will be found in the relevant chapters but it is difficult to say what percentage of such crimes could be said to be due to drinking. Another common offence associated with drinking is gambling.

Gambling is not, however, a dangerous problem in the district. It is however, understood that gambling is not only confined to the lower strata of the society or the criminal class. It is said that some officials and non-officials also indulge in some form of gambling, etc., within closed doors. It may be mentioned here that during Diwali gambling is very common. There are various modes of play with dices and gambling with cards. Card games are popular in modern society. Such games are bridge, rummy, flush and tin tasia. Of course, the games of rummy, flush and tin tasia, mangpatta are common in rural too.

ECONOMIC AND PROFESSIONAL GROUPS AND CLASSES IN RELATION TO SOCIAL LIFE

In spite of the rapid industrialization of the district, agriculture still remains the most important occupation for the majority of the population and even a sizeable percentage of the non-agriculturists as something or other to do with agriculture. The agricultural economy permeates the social life in the district. The bulk of the population, however, still remains rural. According to the provisional census figure of 1961, the urban and rural population of the district are 2,90,341 and 8,68,002 respectively, i.e., the percentage of

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rural population is 74.9 per-cent and that of urban population is 25.1 percent. The rural pattern of life rules the district and the present Welfare State has put the necessary accent on it by emphasising the importance of the agriculturists of our villages.*

The pattern of social life is in a crucial state owing to the impact of the present day socio-economic changes. Dhanbad district is full of hills and forests, wild animals and minerals. The greater resources of the district are being tapped and the district has now a fair share of roads and railways. People from other tracts with different culture-complex have started to settle in Dhanbad and most of them have settled in the industrial areas like Jharia, Sindri and Dhanbad. A large labour force had to be recruited on very high wages to complete the projects. The large recruitment in the coalfields had also contributed to the upgrading of the common man. In the near future the Bokaro Steel Plant in Dhanbad will help the men of this district to earn more money.

The impact has been marked on home life. The types of dwellings are changing. The mud-huts in the urban areas are slowly giving way and people who worked and lived outside would not be satisfied unless there is probably a chair or stool and a table. The old loin cloth of the Adivasis is hardly to be seen. Those days are gone when the Adivasi girl would be happy to move about with a small piece of rolled coloured mat in her ear-lobes. Similar changes are also observed in dress and ornaments of middle class family and the families in the higher income-groups. Their dress, on the whole, is now simpler, more with an eye to durability and cheapness. The present day dwellings that are going up in Dhanbad are not being controlled and hence different types of houses are to be seen. The furniture pattern in the dwellings of the family of middle class and higher income groups is also changing. The present day youths are allergic to squat on the ground and have their meals. There is more of furniture in the living rooms. The change in the pattern is definitely underlying a more comfortable mode of living. Along with the other changes in home life, the pattern of food is also showing a change. More people are turning non-vegetarian and drinking of tea is replacing consumption of milk. Restaurants and hotels are springing up in the towns and villages. There are more people now that have taken to smoking and drinking. There is a perceptible shift of the upper and middle class people to the urban areas.

There are also changes in the amusement sources. The melas and hats used to have some rustic sources of amusements. The communal dances of the Adivasis were more seen in the past. The *melas* and *hats* are now visited by small movies, *nautanki* dances and demonstrative cinema concerns. *Jatras* and *kirtans* are however, still there to keep up the older tradition of instructive amusements.

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In urban areas cinema shows are becoming more popular. The loudspeakers broadcasting cinema as an advertisement have now become a nuisance.

As regards impact of zamindari abolition in the district it may be mentioned that the rural population forming the backbone did not supply the leadership in the past decades and has now been removed. The zamindars with their power of purse and their contact with the administration and middle classes supplied the leadership. Next come the lawyers and other professionals who formed the brain trust in the district. The zamindars as a class cannot be run down because many of them in Dhanbad district tried to discharge a part of their social obligations by starting schools, colleges, libraries and other cultural institutions.

The traditional leadership in society, rural or urban, come from either the men of the higher caste or the zamindars. The present day system of education and the socio-economic changes previously indicated had already started sapping the leadership of the caste men when came the abolition of zamindari in 1957. The numerous zamindar families had been nursed with the tradition of keeping a number of *kamias* and maid-servants. In presence of the zamindar, his tenants would not dare sit on the same platform where the zamindar used to sit. The average zamindar riding on a horse would have a couple of *kamias* run after him to hold the horse if he got tired and wanted to get down. The inaccessibility of a number of *thanas* helped to keep up this fear of zamindars. The economic status of the zamindar was hardly a factor.

But this leisured class was pulled down from the high pedestal. He has now the problem to earn his livelihood. Excepting a few, the economic condition of other is not enviable. The *kamiauti* system had been abolished sometime back and now it is a problem for them to have a domestic servant and agricultural laborers. Many of them have turned to business. Some zamindars are now taking lease from the Government to work the very mineral resources of their previous estates which they had neglected. Some are turning forest contractors, timber merchants or licensees of public vehicles. Exploitation of the industrial resources in big or small scales will open new employment chances.

The abolition of zamindari has affected various strata of people. The landless labourers, agriculturists, service holders, lawyers and merchants have been affected directly or indirectly. The zamindars who were more or less a leisured class used to employ a vast number of *gumasta*, *patwari*, *gorait*, *barahil*, etc. A very negligible percentage of them has been absorbed by the Government as most of them were not found quite fit for Government employment. Some of the lawyers lost a very good source of income.

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The impact of the abolition of zamindari is being felt in the changes of social values. Dignity of labour is more appreciated. The professional classes were previously taken to be socially high because of their avocation. The adult franchise, the statutory removal of untouchability and change of the character of the Police State into Welfare State since Independence had been won, have highlighted the importance of the common men. The political and social changes are leading to a certain confusion. In this great change the educated professional groups like the lawyers, doctors, educationists, businessmen, etc., have a great role to play. It is the educated middle class that gave the leadership in the 19th and early 20th century almost every where. It is felt that the liquidation of zamindari and high casteism the educated professional groups should again come into their own after a little while. Hence with the spread of communication and quicker locomotion that sense of prestige associated exclusively with the English educated men of the towns and the professionals had already started liquidating when the abolition of zamindari came in. At the moment there is no natural leadership for an English educated man with a long purse only because of his education or money.

It may be noted that the agricultural economy of the district has its own problems. The biggest problem is the ever-increasing populon. The agricultural economy of the district is coming to a saturation point and even agriculture has to be industrialized to keep pace with the changes. The growth of population must bring in a certain amount of wastage of human in the district but if the population goes on mult -iplying at the present rate, much of the good work will be undone. The food situation is bound to become much more acute in a decade unle -ss there is a check on population.

Another great need of the district is the amelioration of the cond -ition of the women folk in the villages. Even the block mostly aim to bring about changes more for the direct good of the males than the females. Many of the Development Block have not even got a sprink- ling of women on the staff who could more usefully take up the work of social education. The district lives in the villages and the leadeship in thevillages could only come from the women who have got tradition and culture behind them and all that is required is the touch of literacy and education. It is unfortunate to mention that there has been extre -meely poor progress in the district so far as this aspect is concerned and the impact of an unenlightened women population cannot have a good effect on the social life.

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